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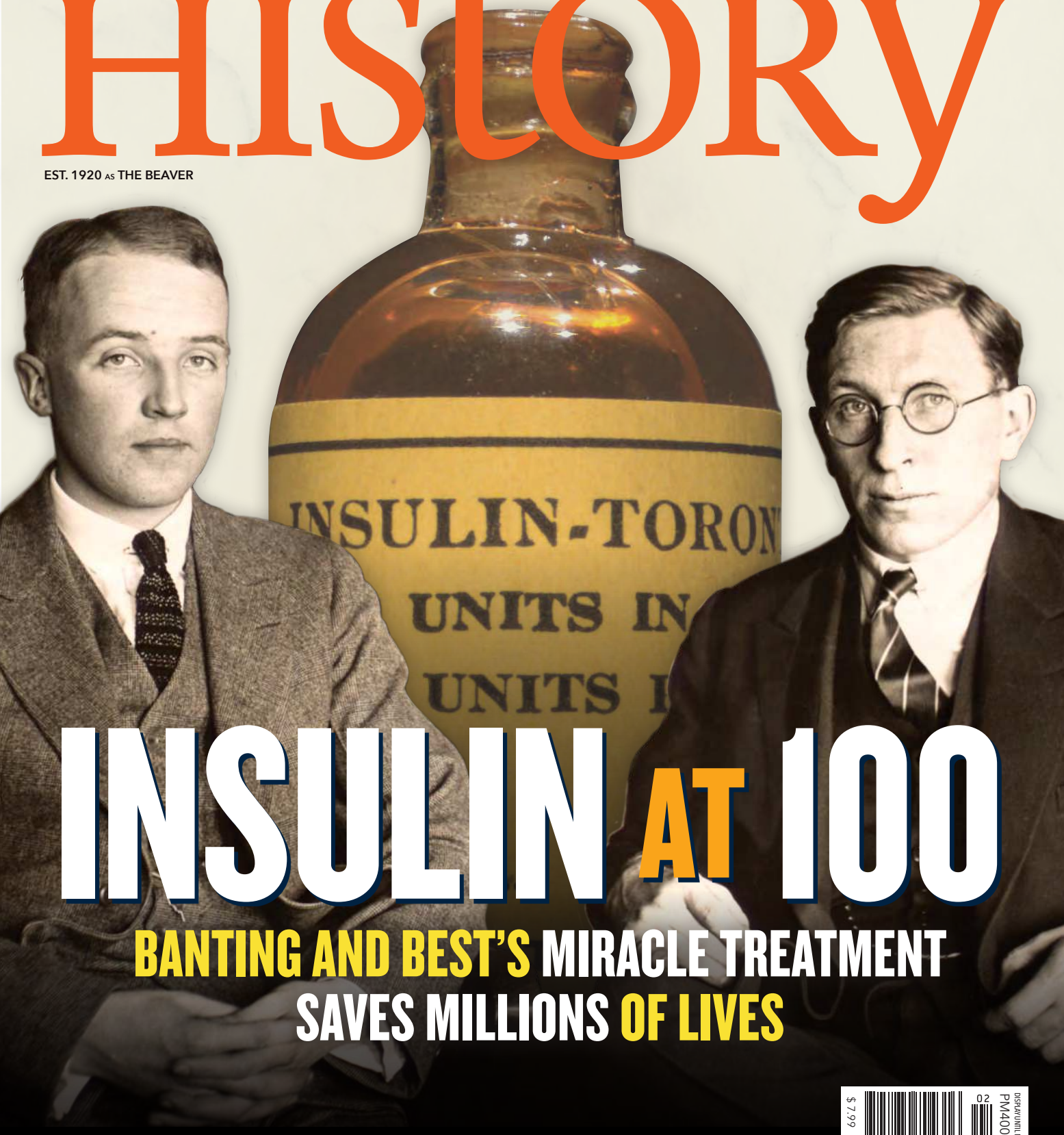

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CONTRIBUTORS

Kerry Banks, the author of "Lonely Warrior," is a Vancouver freelance writer and photographer. A former sports columnist for the *Georgia Straight*, he has published eighteen books on sports and has won a dozen Canadian and international writing awards for his magazine features. He is a devotee of obscure sports history, thriller novels, and Monday-night poker.

Tim Cook wrote "Cold War Crisis." He is the author or editor of thirteen books and the curator of more than a dozen exhibitions at the Canadian War Museum. He is a recipient of a Governor General's History Award, a member of the Royal Society of Canada, a member of the Order of Canada, and a member of the board of directors of Canada's History Society.

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Postage paid in Winnipeg.
Publications Mail Agreement No. 40063001

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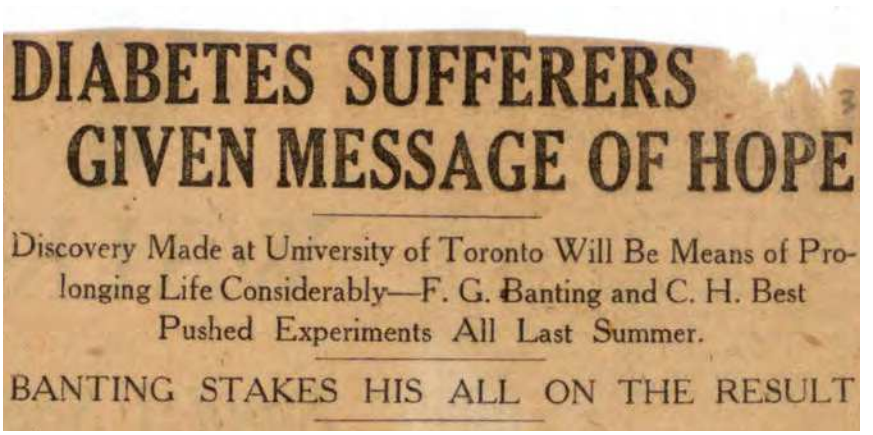

DIABETES SUFFERERS GIVEN MESSAGE OF HOPE

Discovery Made at University of Toronto Will Be Means of Prolonging Life Considerably—F. G. Banting and C. H. Best Pushed Experiments All Last Summer.

BANTING STAKES HIS ALL ON THE RESULT

A newspaper headline about the dramatic discovery of insulin in 1921.

Doses of reality

The good thing about science is, it's true whether you believe it or not.
— Neil DeGrasse Tyson

It's been said that we live in a "post-truth" age — a time in which skepticism abounds and the rejection of knowledge is worn by some as a badge of honour.

As we have seen during the COVID-19 pandemic, the undermining of science can have deadly consequences. When face-mask mandates or new vaccines are seen by some as a globalist plot, it puts real lives at risk.

Which brings me to our cover story, "Insulin at 100," written by John Lorinc. The dramatic tale of the discovery of an effective diabetes treatment reminds us that great things can happen when scientists are encouraged to test new theories and to challenge old assumptions.

Prior to insulin, a diagnosis of diabetes was akin to receiving a death sentence. There were no effective treatments and no cures. Some medical experts believed the best course of treatment for diabetics was to deny them food. Starvation diets subjected patients to extreme hardships with only a minimal impact on life expectancies.

The Canadian research team's breakthrough came as a result of innovative research, perseverence amid conflict, and even some luck. The end result, a century later, is that insulin has extended the lives of tens of millions of diabetics worldwide.

Elsewhere in this issue, we recall the tragic life of a Canadian heavyweight boxer, learn how revelations of a Russian spy ring in Ottawa thrust Canada and the West into a new cold war, and explore the lives of the residents of "the Ward," Toronto's first immigrant neighbourhood.

By the time you read this magazine, the most vulnerable Canadians should be receiving the first waves of vaccinations against COVID-19. At the same time, in laboratories and hospitals across Canada, researchers continue to hunt for cures and new treatments for the diseases that plague us. Indeed, as we sent this issue to print, news broke of a medical discovery at the University of Alberta that might someday lead to the holy grail of diabetes research — an actual cure for the disease.

In a post-truth world, it's easy to succumb to cynicism. But there's reason for hope. Thanks to scientists everywhere, including in Canada, we're actually living in the age of miracles.

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INSULIN 100

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This national commemorative project examines the **uniquely Canadian story of insulin: a collaborative life-saving discovery and subsequent century of innovative development**, highlights the life of **Dr. Frederick Banting** as an example of a ground-breaking scientist, and encourages deeper inquiry into Canada's rich and diverse history of scientific and medical innovations.

Check out the Insulin100 feature later in this issue to read the incredible story of the discovery of insulin. Visit **DefiningMomentsCanada.ca/Insulin100** to discover a virtual exhibit with extended historical coverage of this significant moment in our shared history.

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Feliks Banel's field barometer, right, is shown next to the barometer depicted in the Trading Post department in the December 2020-January 2021 issue of *Canada's History*.

Under pressure

I love the photo and short piece about the HBC field barometer (Trading Post, December 2020-January 2021). The American company that in 1900 purchased the Tycos brand of barometers was still making very similar models of that instrument as recently as the 1950s or 1960s. Also, as you can see on the outer portion of the dial, the instrument is actually an altimeter, too — which may have been of more use to an HBC employee in the field at times, to measure the altitude or altitude gain of some particular place or route. Field barometers lack a key piece that most barometers found in homes, or labs, or weather stations include: the "set hand," a second adjustable needle that the user can rotate, via a knurled knob, to temporarily record the position of the indicator needle. That way, when the barometer is next consulted, the user can tell if the atmospheric pressure has increased or decreased. With barometer-based forecasting, it's this trend — falling or rising — that's nearly always far more significant than the pressure reading on the dial.

Feliks Banel
host and resident historian
KIRO Radio 97.3 FM, Seattle

A century of history

Congratulations on an excellent issue ("100: A Century of The Beaver," October-November 2020). I have enjoyed every item in it, particularly the photographs, which I continue to peruse.When I read your editor's note I enjoyed the chronology of *The Beaver*'s development. I was struck with the line about how *The Beaver* "gradually started to display a greater appreciation for the cultural heritage, ceremonies, and traditions built over the millennia…." Then I saw the picture on page 13 and thought, how appropriate — a statement of the importance of the nuclear family and a confirmation of the centrality of the family in the larger society. Excellent choice of photo.

Ted Huffman
via email

As someone who lived and worked in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut for almost all of the years between 1973 and 2019, I have thoroughly enjoyed your one-hundredth-anniversary edition. The first community I lived in, in 1973, was then called Coppermine, N.W.T., and is now called Kugluktuk, Nunavut. I met Red Pedersen then and have known him ever since. He is the man pictured on page 69 of this celebration issue. (Please note that the correct spelling of his name is not Ped Peterson.) All the work done by so many people over so many years to identify photo information correctly, in so many ways, as described in this issue, is a wonderful gift to northerners. Thank you on behalf of all northerners and all Canadians interested in history!

Catherine McGregor
via email

Judge not

I wish to draw attention to the less-than-satisfactory historical perspective of Judge Matthew Begbie and the non-Indigenous population presented in the article and the casual unsupported comments about his character and actions ("Defending the Land," June-July 2020.) While the murdered chiefs are memorialized, the eighteen non-Indigenous [victims] are forgotten to history, even though they were sons, husbands, brothers, and fathers. Judging historical norms, actions, and people by current standards is unethical. We expect historians to be facilitators in bridging the understanding of historical events to current cultural sensitivities and challenges. Sadly, this is not the case.

Doug Johnstone
Vancouver

Errata: Canada's History *would like to acknowledge Robert Morris and Lawrence Raskin for uncovering Lowell Thomas's connection to Toronto in their 2003* Toronto Star *article "Arabian Knight." Their insights inspired the archival research conducted for the article "Lawrence of Canada," which appeared in the December 2020-January 2021 issue. Acknowledgement of their contributions was inadvertantly omitted during the editing process. We apologize for this error.*

Modern-day Puvirnituq is in northern Quebec. Incorrect information appeared in the October-November 2020 issue.

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

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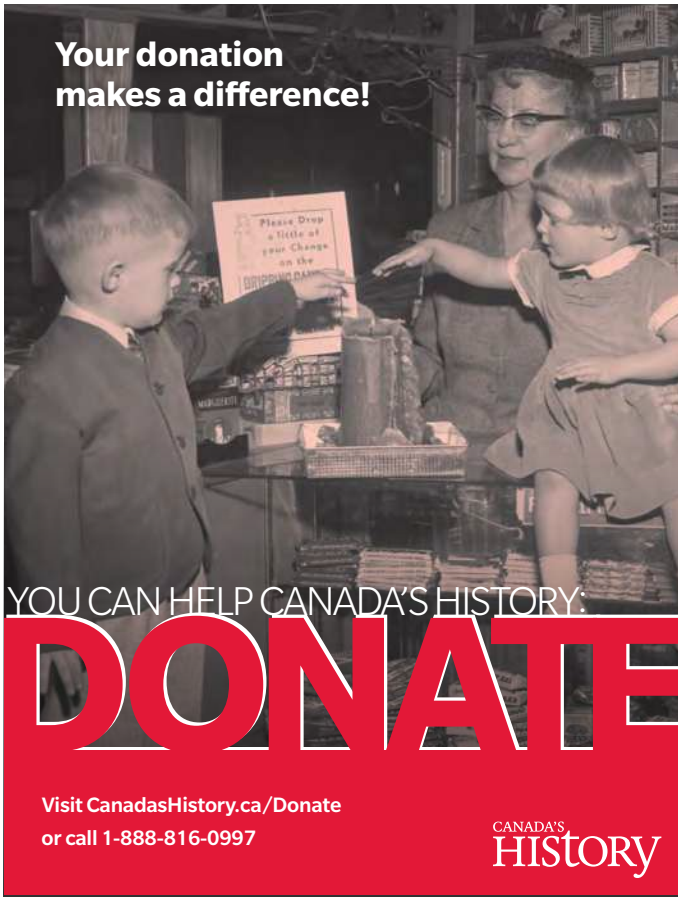

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Alexandra Moreau, recipient of The Winnipeg Foundation's Centennial Institute Award for Master's Studies in Canadian or Indigenous History

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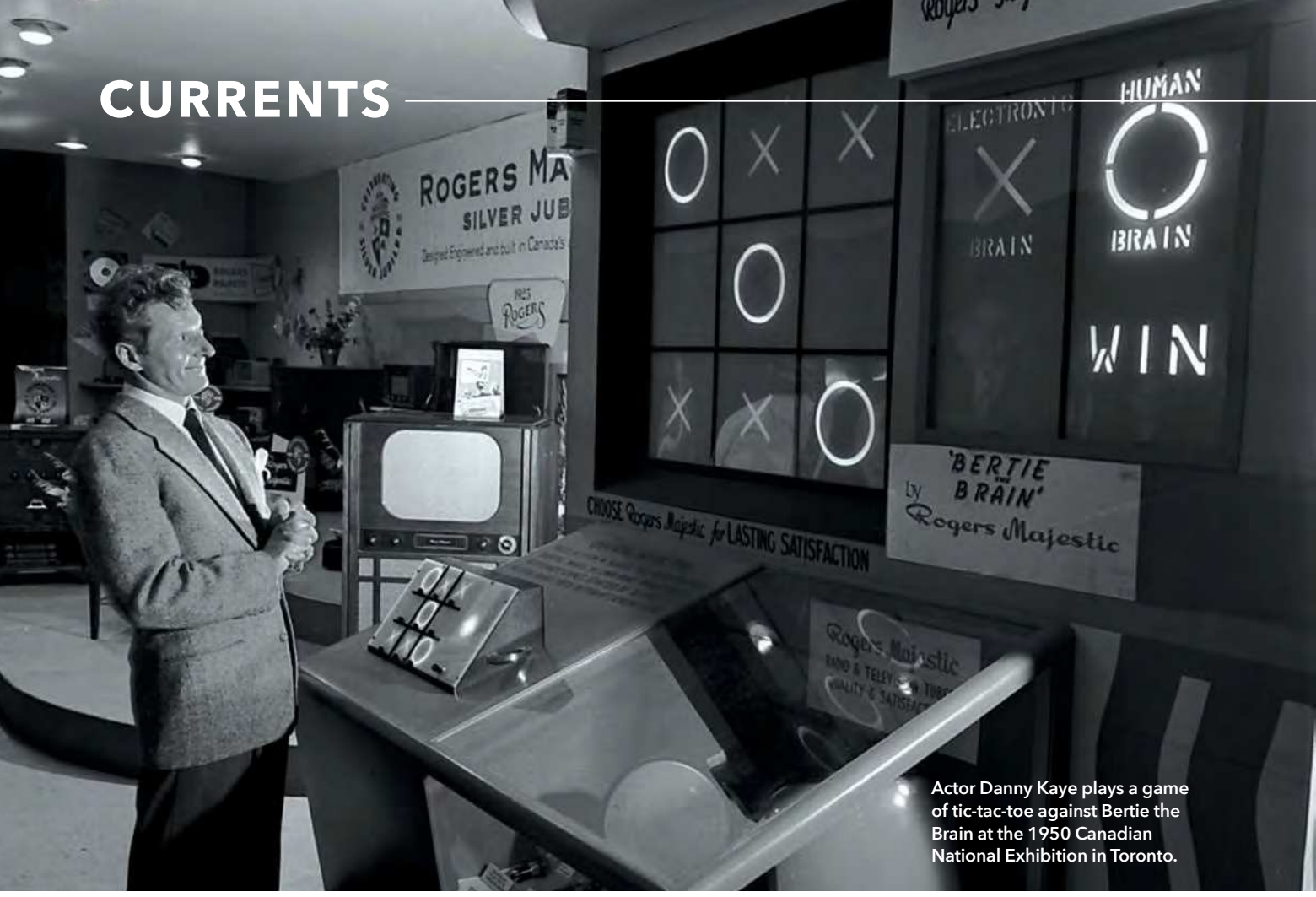

Actor Danny Kaye plays a game of tic-tac-toe against Bertie the Brain at the 1950 Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto.

Game on!

Canadians are wowed by computer game's debut. *by Brendan McShane*

The video game industry today is worth billions, and the games themselves are ubiquitous, found on consoles, and computers, and cellphones everywhere.

But few gamers realize that the world's first publicly playable computer game premiered in Canada. Bertie the Brain, invented by the Austrian-Canadian engineer Josef Kates, was a four-metre-tall arcade game that debuted at the 1950 Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto. Powered by an Additron tube — a type of miniature vacuum tube patented by Kates in 1951 — Bertie allowed visitors to play tic-tac-toe against a computer with adjustable difficulty. Players pressed a keypad to illuminate their moves, and Bertie's rudimentary artificial intelligence, in turn, blocked them until it achieved victory.

Kates, who would have turned one hundred this year, was born in Vienna on May 5, 1921, to a Jewish family. The rise of the Nazis, along with Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938, forced Kates and his family to flee the country. They eventually arrived in England, where Kates applied to serve in the British military but was instead deported to Canada as an Austrian "enemy alien." In Canada, he spent two years in an internment camp in New Brunswick that also held anti-Jewish Nazi sympathizers. While interned, Kates studied for his high school equivalency and achieved the best results in the province.

After his release in 1941, he moved to Toronto, married, and received his Ph.D. in physics from the University of Toronto. Kates became the chairman of the Science Council of Canada in 1968.

His career saw numerous successes, including designing the world's first automated traffic signalling system for Toronto, creating a computer program that alleviated the overcrowding of boats in the Welland Canal, and, of course, Bertie the Brain. In 2011, Kates was appointed a Companion of the Order of Canada. He died in 2018 at the age of ninety-seven.

March 20, 2021, marks the seventieth anniversary of the patent registration of Kates' Additron tube. While it was a significant contribution to the early history of video games, the Additron tube was never commercially implemented because it was soon made obsolete by the invention of transistors.

GETTY IMAGES

Alberta boy discovers unique fossil

A young Albertan's fossil find is helping to fill in a major knowledge gap for paleontologists. *by Mark Collin Reid*

Nathan Hrushkin, a grade seven student from Calgary, found a fossilized humerus, or arm bone, of a young hadrosaur while hiking in the badlands region of south-central Alberta.

"The first thing I said was, 'Dad, you need to get up here!'" Hrushkin said in a media interview. "To find a real dinosaur skeleton at the age of twelve – and having it be this significant – is just really amazing."

Hrushkin made his discovery last summer while he and his father, Dion, were hiking a portion of Horseshoe Canyon, about 120 kilometres northeast of Calgary.

"This young hadrosaur is a very important discovery because it comes from a time interval for which we know very little about what kind of dinosaurs or animals lived in Alberta," said François Therrien, curator of dinosaur paleoecology at the Royal Tyrrell Museum in Drumheller, Alberta. "Nathan and Dion's find will help us fill this big gap in our knowledge of dinosaur evolution."

Better known as duck-billed dinosaurs, hadrosaurs were plant eaters that lived in all continents except Africa during the Late Cretaceous period, about 145 million to 65 million years ago.

Since Hrushkin's discovery, paleontologists have uncovered an additional thirty to fifty bones believed to have come from a single hadrosaur that was about three or four years old at the time of its death.

While hadrosaur fossils are common to this region of Alberta, those of juvenile hadrosaurs are rare – especially from this strata layer, which paleontologists estimate is between 71 and 68 million years old. In the wake of his discovery, Hrushkin was featured in several news stories, including an appearance on American news channel CNN.

The fossil was found on land belonging to the Nature Conservancy of Canada. "We're happy Nathan was able to test out his skills as a budding paleontologist on our conservation site," said Bryanne Aylward, a spokesperson for the Nature Conservancy.

Top: Nathan Hrushkin, right, and his father, Dion Hrushkin, at Horseshoe Canyon, Alberta, in the summer of 2020.

Above: Bones belonging to a young hadrosaur, discovered by Nathan Hrushkin, are embedded in rock at Horseshoe Canyon.

More than a dozen species of hadrosaurs have been identified by paleontologists.

TOP RIGHT: NATURE CONSERVANCY OF CANADA. CENTRE RIGHT: NATURE CONSERVANCY OF CANADA. BOTTOM: ISTOCK

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

Deadly fire on Parliament Hill

As Canadians fought in the trenches of Europe, calamity struck closer to home when the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa caught fire on the night of February 3, 1916. The blaze ripped through the High Victorian Gothic revival-style structures, destroying the Centre Block and causing the roof of the House of Commons to collapse. Seven people died in the conflagration, which some Canadians attributed to wartime sabotage. However, it's believed that the true cause of the fire was an unwatched cigar. The reconstruction effort began in July 1916 and retained the Gothic revival style with a new beaux-arts plan. It took seven years to complete most of the new Centre Block; the final phase of construction included a Peace Tower that opened in 1927. Within the Peace Tower, a Memorial Chamber hosts a Book of Remembrance that contains the names of more than sixty-six thousand Canadian soldiers who died during the First World War. *– Brendan McShane*

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Quebec mining town chooses new moniker

Au revoir Asbestos, and *bonjour* Val-des-Sources. The Quebec community named after the fireproof – and potentially deadly – mineral has changed its name due to negative connotations surrounding its former moniker.

Town officials said in media interviews that the name discouraged investment in the region while subjecting Asbestos residents to ridicule.

The decision elicited mixed feelings among residents.

While a majority of locals supported the change, others decried the move, with one man quoted by CBC News as saying, "I was born in Asbestos, and I want to die in Asbestos!"

The new name means Valley of the Springs and is a reference to the community's location close to three local lakes. Val-des-Sources received 51.5 per cent of the vote. Other options on the ballot included L'Azur-des-Cantons, Jeffrey-sur-le-Lac, Larochelle, Phénix, and Trois-Lacs.

The community's original name came from the massive chrysotile asbestos deposit located beneath the surface there. Discovered in the 1870s by a local farmer, the deposit was at the time the largest known in the world.

For decades, asbestos was prized for its insulating and fire-proofing qualities. During the world wars, it was used widely in the manufacturing of ships, trains, and other vehicles.

However, over time health experts linked exposure to the mineral to diseases such as mesothelioma and asbestosis. In 1987 the World Health Organization declared asbestos to be a carcinogen, and in 2018 Canada banned asbestos products.

Asbestos mining in the region is linked to a key moment in Quebec's Quiet Revolution. In 1949, miners at four local asbestos mines walked off the job to protest unsafe working conditions and poor wages. The provincial government led by Premier Maurice Duplessis responded by sending in replacement workers along with police to protect the mines, which were owned by American and English-Canadian companies.

Above: A sign greets visitors at Asbestos, Quebec.

Left: Police lead away an arrested miner during the 1949 asbestos strike in Quebec. The bitter labour dispute is today considered a major turning point in that province's Quiet Revolution.

The strike exploded in violence as miners sparred with both police and replacement workers. Eventually the province read the riot act and ordered mass arrests of striking miners. The majority of Quebeckers sympathized with the strikers, causing anti-government and pro-francophone sentiment to flourish in the province.

The community's two remaining asbestos mines closed in 2011. – *M.C. Reid*

TOP RIGHT: COURTESY OF VILLE D'ASBESTOS. CENTRE RIGHT: THE CANADIAN PRESS. BOTTOM LEFT: NCC ARCHIVES

The toonie design as unveiled in 1996.

NEWS

A quarter century of the toonie

February 19, 2021, marks the silver anniversary of the debut of the Canadian nickel-ringed copper coin popularly known as the toonie. The coin entered circulation in 1996 as a more durable replacement for the Canadian two-dollar bill. At first, however, Canadians were unsure what to call the coin that bore an image of a polar bear standing on an ice floe. While announcing the design in 1995, federal Public Works Minister David Dingwall suggested that it be dubbed the "toonie." However, reporters were skeptical, with one suggesting to the minister, "How about the beary?" and another quipping, "How about unbearable?" Since its debut, the toonie has commemorated several significant historical milestones. Special editions were minted for the founding of Nunavut in 1999, the four-hundredth anniversary of Quebec City in 2008, and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 2020. – *Brendan McShane and M.C. Reid*

Quilt

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

This quilt was hand-sewn by Margaret "Granny" Seymour in 1957 for Malvina Bolus, a historian working with the Hudson's Bay Company who was the editor of *The Beaver* magazine from 1958 to 1972. Bolus passed the quilt on to Barbara Johnstone, who was the curator of the HBC Collection. Seymour was nearly 105 years old when she made the quilt, working on it from nine to five each day without the aid of glasses. She was the daughter of HBC factor James Boucher (sometimes spelled Bouchey) and his wife, a woman of Dakelh (Carrier) descent.

Seymour was born near her father's post of Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, in what is now the northern interior of British Columbia. She was baptized in 1860 at Stuart Lake by a Reverend McCoulgan — who estimated her year of birth as sometime between 1852 and 1855 — and she moved with her father to different posts in what was then the New Caledonia district, eventually making Prince George her home.

Seymour was twice married, and both her husbands were involved with the Hudson's Bay Company. She had eight children. An iconic figure in Prince George history, Seymour was known for her healing and midwifery skills. In addition to quilting into her second century, she split her own wood and on Sundays walked three kilometres to church, until her death from influenza in March 1966.

— Cortney Pachet, assistant curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 003-58) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

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THE BEAVER 1920 2020 100 YEARS

Child labour was largely outlawed by the 1890s. However, extreme poverty kept many urban children employed well into the twentieth century. Children also found themselves on the streets performing unpaid labour for their parents, such as collecting wood and coal and picking up laundry or groceries. The older girl in this 1911 image was probably babysitting her younger siblings or other neighbourhood kids.

WILLIAM JAMES, CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES. FONDS 1244, ITEM 8028

LIFE IN THE WARD

Toronto's original immigrant neighbourhood was alive with the sights and sounds of many cultures. *by Lauren Luchenski and Ashley Henrickson*

IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, AS DIMLY LIT AND rundown homes in Toronto's first immigrant neighbourhood, St. John's Ward, became overcrowded, everyday life spilled into the streets and laneways. Children congregated to play and to work, peddlers made their living selling goods from roadside carts, and young mothers hung their laundry while chatting with nearby neighbours.

Nestled in the heart of the city between City Hall, University College, and the mansions along University Avenue, the Ward was home to a diverse population, including Eastern-European Jews, and Italian, Chinese, and African-American immigrants. The crowded back alleys and busy roads provided meeting places for diverse cultural identities and communities but were not free from racism or distrust.

The stories of these families are as varied and complex as the communities they created. Exploring how these stories unfolded in the streets of the Ward provides insight into the residents' overlooked experiences, which were immortalized on film by Toronto photojournalists William James and Arthur Goss.

Families in the Ward commonly used the streets and back alleys as extensions of their tiny homes. This family was photographed in 1911 sleeping on the sidewalk to escape the heat inside their house. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, homes in the Ward became increasingly crowded as residences were repeatedly subdivided, providing cheaper but also drastically smaller homes.

The storefronts of a kosher restaurant and a chicken warehouse in the Ward in 1910. Eastern-European Jews were the Ward's largest immigrant population until about 1920. Journalist John McAree wrote about the Ward's Jewish population in a 1912 *Maclean's* article. His description reflects the early twentieth-century mindset towards immigrants: contempt mixed with curiosity. On the Jews' use of the Ward's streets, McAree wrote: "In the evening, this part of the Other Half lives on the sidewalks or leaning out of windows. The streets swarm with old Jews and young, flashily dressed Jews in the latest Queen Street styles, and patriarchal old Jews in gaberdine and skull cap. Strange noises and smells rise on the air and blend with a Babel of tongues." Many Jewish people living in the Ward were unable to find secure jobs due to rampant anti-Semitism. Thus, many in the community, including children, made a living peddling.

TOP: WILLIAM JAMES, CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES: FONDS 1244, ITEM 1033
BOTTOM: WILLIAM JAMES, CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES: FONDS 1244, ITEM 291

Photographer William James' images of poor children "running amuck" in unsanitary conditions were printed in local newspapers to provoke moral panic, and to bolster social-reform movements intended to "save" but also to assimilate immigrants living in the Ward. His photographs, such as this image from 1908, had real, and often negative, effects on the Ward's residents. These popular images have also shaped contemporary understanding of poverty and everyday life in the neighbourhood.

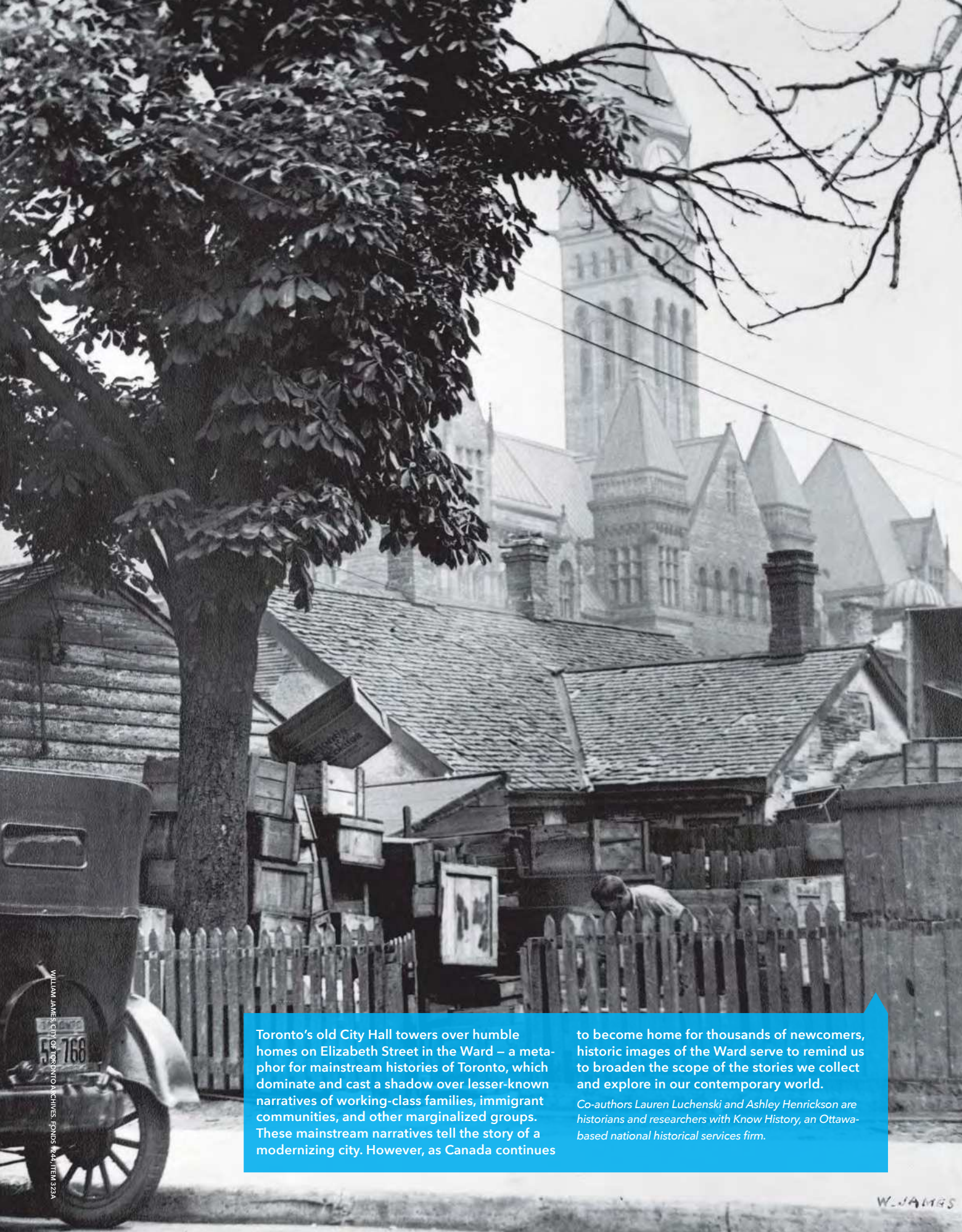
WILLIAM JAMES, CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES, FOND 1244, ITEM 659

Images of poor children playing in the streets attracted the attention of social reformers, including proponents of the Playground Movement, who built supervised playgrounds and hired teachers to organize daily activities. This charitable endeavour began in the late 1800s in the United States and by the turn of the century had spread into Canada. It had an ulterior motive, however: Reformers intervened in the "natural play" of immigrant children to assimilate them into Canadian society. In a 1909 *Globe and Mail* article celebrating the opening of the Elizabeth Street playground, seen here in 1913, the author applauded reformers for introducing "the graceful old songs and games of the ancient races into the playgrounds of untaught city children." They suggested that children who played traditional British games became "gentler and more graceful" and were saved from "the unwholesome influences of the street."

A woman in the Ward panhandles for money to support her paralyzed husband in 1908. At the time, typical working-class men could not always make enough to keep their families above the poverty line. As a result, impoverished women became secondary wage earners, working in factories like T. Eaton Co.'s clothing plant. Women earned less than men, however, which made other means of making money, like panhandling, a necessity. In some cases, women became sex workers out of desperation to make ends meet. From the 1920s to the 1950s, sex workers were a common sight on the Ward's streets.

The streets of the Ward were especially unsafe for Chinese migrants. In 1919, a violent anti-Chinese riot took place on Queen and Elizabeth streets, where rioters used rocks and batons to smash the windows of Chinese businesses. In 1923, the *Chinese Immigration Act*, also known as the *Chinese Exclusion Act,* effectively closed Chinese immigration to Canada, preventing many residents of the Ward from bringing their families into the country. Despite these restrictions the Ward was home to the first Chinatown in Toronto, seen here in 1937.

TOP RIGHT: CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES; FONDS 1231, ITEM 537
CENTRE: LEFT: WILLIAM JAMES; CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES; FONDS 1244, ITEM 676
BOTTOM: ARTHUR GOSS; CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES; SERIES 372, SUBSERIES 0033, ITEM 0172



WILLIAM JAMES, CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES, FONDS 1244, ITEM 323A

Toronto's old City Hall towers over humble homes on Elizabeth Street in the Ward – a metaphor for mainstream histories of Toronto, which dominate and cast a shadow over lesser-known narratives of working-class families, immigrant communities, and other marginalized groups. These mainstream narratives tell the story of a modernizing city. However, as Canada continues to become home for thousands of newcomers, historic images of the Ward serve to remind us to broaden the scope of the stories we collect and explore in our contemporary world.

Co-authors Lauren Luchenski and Ashley Henrickson are historians and researchers with Know History, an Ottawa-based national historical services firm.

COLD WAR CRISIS

The ashes of the Second World War had barely cooled when the world was faced with a new and terrifying threat.

by Tim Cook

THE TWIN ATOMIC CLOUDS OVER JAPAN IN 1945 SIGNALLED BOTH the end of the Second World War and the beginning of a new world order. The West and the Soviet Union, once uneasy wartime allies, were soon to be locked in a battle of stealth, subterfuge, and spycraft. And, in this new cold war Canada was for a time at centre stage.

The Cold War rose from the ashes of the previous war, a conflict of unparalleled violence. Worldwide, some sixty million people had been killed, cities had been left in ruins, and millions of refugees were without homes. European empires had been shattered by Japan's early victories in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, leading to a decolonization movement that would play out over the coming decades.

With the European nations bled dry, two victors emerged as new rival superpowers: the capitalist United States and the communist Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. During the war, both sides — though ideologically opposed — had maintained an uncomfortable alliance.

Democracy, Winston Churchill remarked in 1947, is the worst form of government, except all the others. His arch-rival Joseph Stalin would have disagreed. Stalin's totalitarian brand of communism emerged from the socialist writings of nineteenth-century thinker Karl Marx, who surveyed the squalour and exploitation of workers and believed that societal change, likely only through revolution, was necessary for the common good.

It took the massive upheaval of the First World War to create the conditions for the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. The Allies tried to strangle the movement in the cradle, rushing soldiers — including more than 4,200 from Canada — to Russia at the end of the war. But the revolutionaries survived, and by 1924 the man of steel, Stalin, was in command.

Stalin unleashed decades of mass murder and widespread fear to usher in massive social re-engineering. From the early 1930s onward, he liquidated the landholding classes, created agrarian collectives, and industrialized at a torrid pace. His brutal centralizing policies employed food as a weapon, especially in Ukraine, where millions died of famine. Hundreds of thousands more were killed in unremitting purges as part of a calculated reign of terror.

Stalin was eager to sign a non-aggression pact with German dictator Adolf Hitler in August 1939. This gave the Nazis free rein to invade Poland from the west while Stalin moved in from the east, revelling in the spoils and ordering the murder of thousands of Polish officers and intellectuals. But, even with their alliance forged in blood, communism and Nazism were diametrically opposed, and Hitler plotted to turn on the Soviet Union in June of 1941. In the death throes that followed, Stalin, the mass murderer of millions, became an uneasy ally to the West.

Through incredible courage, resolve, and ruthless discipline, the Soviets survived the German onslaught and slowly beat back the invading enemy on the Eastern Front. But Stalin's Red Army and his people suffered greatly, with some twenty-seven million killed in battle or in genocidal campaigns.

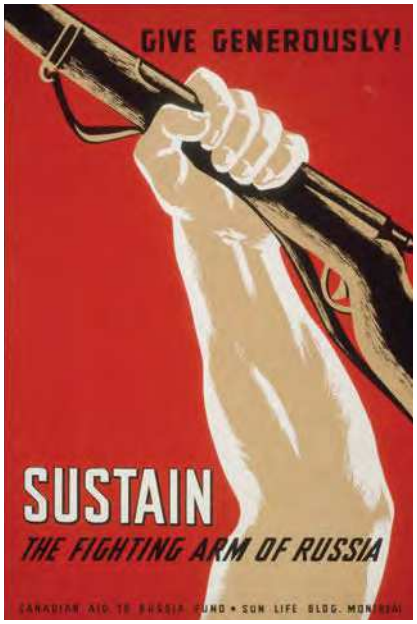
By June 1944, the Western Allies' Overlord invading force was in Normandy, opening a new front to join the

Soldiers with the Canadian Siberian Expeditionary Force in Vladivostok, Russia, circa January 1919.

RAYMOND GIBSON / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / C 091749

COLOURIZATION BY JAMES GILLESPIE. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY/CHARLES LEVY

A mushroom cloud towers above Nagasaki, Japan, seconds after the United States dropped an atomic bomb on the city on August 9, 1945.



A Second World War-era poster urges Canadians to donate money to support Russia in its resistance against the forces of Nazi Germany. Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941 after conquering much of Western Europe.

Anglo-American-Canadian advance northward in Italy. The war in Europe ended in May 1945 with Germany's total defeat. By this time, the Soviets were occupying Berlin and Eastern Europe, including Poland. Stalin had no desire to give up the territory, which, he believed, served as a buffer zone against capitalist aggression.

For its part, the West abandoned Poland, which had suffered terribly in the war. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill agonized over the decision, but with American President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the grave by April 1945, and Churchill soon to be removed from office, the West was disunified in facing Stalin.

Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, arrived in office unprepared. Much of the American army and air force was in Europe finishing off the Germans, and Japan was still far from surrender. It took the atomic bombs dropped in August 1945 to convince the Japanese emperor of the hopelessness of fighting onward. But it was not just the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that led to surrender. Stalin, keeping a promise he made at an Allied conference at Yalta in February 1945, attacked Japan three months after victory in Europe. His powerful Red Army mauled the Japanese forces occupying northeastern China from August 8. Facing a hopeless situation, Japan surrendered on August 14.

It is unlikely that the Americans would not have used atomic weapons against Japan, given that they had spent vast resources on the Manhattan Project to develop the bombs. However, President Truman and his advisors were also wary of the mighty Soviet war machine, now poised to strike against the Western European forces. Truman hoped that the atom bombs' destruction would be a warning to Stalin.

It was.

"Hiroshima has shaken the whole world," said Stalin. "The balance has been destroyed." Only the secret to the atom would restore the balance. And he set out to steal it.

All were aware that the new world order's fragile peace would be difficult to preserve. The creation of an international, rules-based system at the recently formed United Nations was thought to be one positive way forward, but the Soviets repeatedly used the power of their veto to disrupt progressive action.

At the same time, as part of a multi-pronged strategy against the West, Stalin had his spy network and the support of Western fellow-travellers — intellectuals, civil servants, and scientists who believed in the utopian dream of communism and were blind to Soviet repression.

Among the latter were members of the small Communist Party of Canada. They were in contact with Soviet staff, soldiers, and agents soon after Moscow established an embassy in Ottawa in June 1942. The Soviets were especially interested in gathering intelligence about Canada's contribution of uranium and scientists to American atomic research.

Young cipher clerk Igor Gouzenko was one of the staff members in the embassy. He had arrived in Ottawa in 1943 as a proud Russian but became disillusioned after seeing how poorly his war-weary country fared in comparison with Canada's affluence. When recalled late in 1944, he was reluctant to go, knowing that Stalin frequently punished those who might return from abroad with ideas to infect the Soviet people. Gouzenko's sympathetic superiors delayed his return, fearful that he would be executed or sent to a gulag. With a wife

Soviet troops gather at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin after capturing the German capital in April 1945.

TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1985-111-2. BOTTOM: ALAMY BMP3P9

Above: Japanese troops surrender to Russian forces in Manchuria in August 1945.

Far left: Soviet leader Joseph Stalin circa 1940s.

Left: Russian cipher clerk Igor Gouzenko wears a hood to hide his face during a television appearance in Toronto in April 1954.

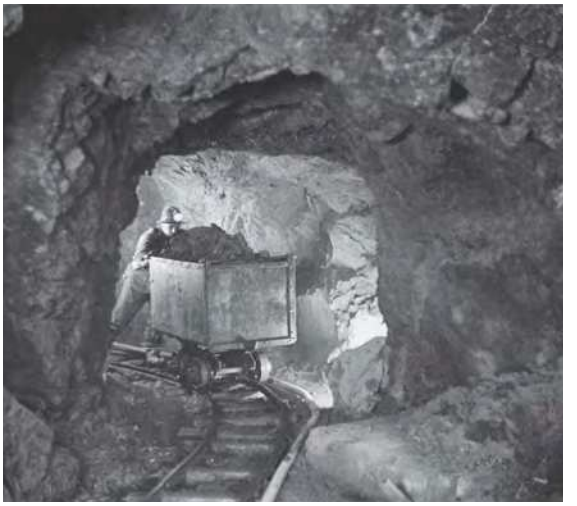
TOP: ALAMY; ELCTJE. BOTTOM LEFT: ALAMY; BSTTHI. BOTTOM RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA PA-129625

and one child, and another baby on the way, Gouzenko began to plan his defection.

The Gouzenko affair revealed an intricate spy network and deep espionage. The more than one hundred documents he provided to Canadian authorities offered proof of conspiracy. If Gouzenko had been caught and silenced, who knows if the West would have been energized as it was? Certainly, Canada would have been slow to react, especially with long-time Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King at the helm. In fact, King's inglorious reaction to Gouzenko's documents was to duck and hide, suggesting that the defector might be quietly returned to the Soviet Union, where he would surely have been executed.

The prime minister's backbone was soon stiffened by his advisors, who reminded him that he had played a lynchpin role in connecting and soothing over differences between the United States and Britain in the early part of the Second World War, and that he could do it again. King grew to like the idea and set off to meet twice with Truman in Washington, while also visiting London. "How strange it is," King wrote in his diary in October 1945, "that I should find myself at the very centre of this problem, through Canada possessing uranium, having contributed to the production of the bomb, being recognized as one of the three countries to hold most of the secrets."

Mobilized by the Gouzenko documents, moles were tracked, monitored, and eventually arrested en masse in a multi-country sting operation early in February 1946. Eleven people in Canada were convicted of spying for the Soviets, including Member of Parliament Fred Rose. There was an uproar in the newspapers, with the *Globe and Mail* announcing that "the atom secret" had been lost to the Soviets, while



Above: Uranium from the Eldorado mine in Great Bear Lake, Northwest Territories, seen here in 1930, was used to produce the first atomic bombs.

Left: Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in Quebec City during the Quebec Conference in 1943.

CBC correspondent Matthew Halton wrote from London, England, that "almost everyone is interested in the big spy story from Canada. There is a wild flood of wild rumours."

Despite the high-profile arrests, many feared that there were more Soviet stooges and treasonous agents. This became the central theme in many films and novels. Anti-communist political leaders raved about spies and fed what became known as a red scare.

The desire to ferret out the "enemies within," followed most aggressively and odiously by American Senator Joseph McCarthy, grew in part from the Gouzenko revelations.

In Canada, the RCMP targeted homosexuals in the Canadian civil service because, with same-sex relations illegal under Canadian law until 1969, it was thought that they were more vulnerable to blackmail by foreign agents. And so, from the early 1950s to the early 1990s, these Canadians were hounded from their jobs, their reputations destroyed, and their lives scarred forever.

The Gouzenko affair also revealed that Canada could not avoid this new Cold War, as George Orwell — author of *1984*, a chilling dissection of totalitarianism — called it in October 1945. A few months later, Churchill provided a vivid metaphor for Stalin's occupation of Eastern Europe, through his March 5, 1946, speech that accused Stalin of erecting an "Iron Curtain" between the Eastern bloc and the West. Less remembered today was Churchill's warning of "Communist Fifth Columns" undermining democracy, a caution influenced by the Gouzenko revelations.

Meanwhile, war-weary Canadians — including a million veterans — were moving forward into prosperity with jobs, expanding suburban communities, raising babies, and benefiting from an emerging social security net. Many shuddered at the thought of a new war. But Gouzenko's revelations could not be ignored, and he became an icon who represented the abrupt shift into the Cold War.

A minor Cold War-celebrity in Canada, Gouzenko would remain a prognosticator and seer of the Soviet Union. He wrote books and novels offering insight into Soviet communism and the state and was an enduring symbol of the repressed millions who were left behind the Iron Curtain.

And yet there were greater acts of belligerence in the early Cold War. Stalin, for instance, saw the American Marshall Plan, with its injection of billions of aid dollars into Western Europe, as an economic threat, while the West believed that the Soviets' overt undermining of democracy in France, Italy, and Greece by supporting communist parties and agitators was a harbinger of future subversive attacks.

The Gouzenko legacy, as well as these other acts of aggression, led Canadian political leaders to harden their positions towards the Soviet Union. Once King stepped down as leader in 1948, his chosen successor, Louis St. Laurent, along with long-time diplomat Lester B. Pearson, understood the need for Canada to emerge from isolationism and to play a greater role in contributing to the world order.

Pearson, as minister of external affairs from September 1948, was no prince of peace. He had been intrigued by communism in the 1930s, like so many Canadians, but the well-travelled public servant realized he had been tricked when he encountered the truth about Stalin's murderous persecution of his own people. Moreover, the failure to act against Hitler in the late 1930s was a lesson for most Allied nations, including Canada. The West needed to form a "common front against Soviet communism," said Pearson. "We should not make the mistake we made with Hitler."

LEFT: MONTREAL GAZETTE / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / C-014168. RIGHT: ELDORADO MINING & REFINING LTD. / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / C-023983

Incoming, a 1978 painting by Ted Zuber, depicts soldiers of the Royal Canadian Regiment enduring a communist artillery attack in Korea in October 1952. The forty-five-minute bombardment was one of the heaviest that Canadians endured during the Korean War.

These guiding principles became even more apparent when Stalin used stolen secrets from the West to detonate his first atomic bomb — code-named First Lightning — in August 1949. Balance was restored, thought Stalin. For the Western allies, there was a collective shudder and then a new determination to band together.

Canada would continue to face outwards, first by joining NATO in April 1949, after years of witnessing communist aggression, especially the coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and the cordoning off of Berlin, which forced the West's famous airdropping of supplies into the city. After these incidents came the Korean War, where communist North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950. American Secretary of State Dean Acheson described the invasion as a test "to be met by the free peoples; they must call a halt to communist aggressive tactics." It also led to fevered discussions over whether the war in Korea was a strategic feint by Stalin to divert the West from the real prize of Europe.

Quebec politician and activist Thérèse Casgrain in Montreal during a 1961 protest against the testing of nuclear weapons.

Canada contributed some twenty-seven thousand service personnel to the Korean War, with 516 killed. Even before the war ended in stalemate in July 1953, Canada had committed additional armed forces to defend Western Europe, a commitment that would last until the early 1990s.

The fear of the Soviets continued even after Stalin's death in March 1953. Canada and the United States built upon their wartime arrangements to defend against the threat of Soviet bombers and unmanned missiles attacking North America by coming over the Arctic. Canada prepared for a long, cold standoff, with the North a primary battleground.

The division between democracies and communist nations emerged out of the Second World War, but the revelations by Gouzenko were a tipping point in the rapid shift from their being allies to their becoming enemies. It was a symbolic moment in time on a continuum that set Canada — and the world — on a new path, a cold war that several times nearly went nuclear-hot.

TOP: CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM 19890328-008; BOTTOM: THE CANADIAN PRESS CP2413361

'IT'S WAR. IT'S WAR. IT'S RUSSIA'

Russian defector Igor Gouzenko's chilling warning of a Soviet spy ring in Ottawa sent shock waves through Canada and the West.

by Brendan McShane

ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 5, 1945, IGOR GOUZENKO WALKED nervously through the lobby of the Soviet Embassy, with the unblinking gaze of Vladimir Lenin's bust on his back. As he left his workplace for the last time, carrying more than one hundred incriminating documents, he knew he was not safe from the prying watch of Soviet eyes.

Gouzenko ambled along the streets of Ottawa, the weather balmy for a September evening, towards the offices of the *Ottawa Journal*. Only a month prior, the same streets had been bursting with gaiety to celebrate the surrender of Japan and the end of the Second World War. On this evening, though, the city was quiet, and Gouzenko walked alone, burdened by dozens of papers documenting a shocking secret — that Canada's wartime ally, the Soviet Union, was engaged in a vast spying operation against the West.

Gouzenko was a cipher clerk in the employ of the *Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravlenie* (GRU), the Soviet intelligence organization. A man of humble Russian origins and modest height, Gouzenko had a sharp mind and an eye for detail; he was hand-picked by the *Narodny Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del* (NKVD), the KGB's predecessor, to train in military intelligence, in which he excelled. Gouzenko travelled to Canada in 1943 with Colonel Nikolai Zabotin, the Soviet military attaché, to cipher and decipher wartime secrets — not only those of the Axis powers but also items from the Allies.

Gouzenko excelled at the job, but, despite his proficiency, word came down in September 1944 that he and his family would be sent back to Moscow. The reasons for this are contested. Evelyn "Evy" Wilson, Gouzenko's eldest daughter, told *Canada's History* that it was a routine decision — that her father's term of service in Canada had simply come to an end. However, some writers have claimed that Gouzenko was ordered to return to face punishment for unknown misdeeds. Either way, Zabotin, who was fond of Gouzenko, arranged for the cipher clerk to remain in Canada for another year.

Gouzenko's motives for defecting are disputed. John Sawatsky, in his 1984 book *Gouzenko: The Untold Story*, attributes the decision largely to Gouzenko's desire to escape the deprivation of Soviet society. However, Evy Wilson disagrees, believing that her parents' "motivations for escaping were never selfish. How could it be if they did not expect to live? They even made plans for their son's adoption in Canada. Their sole intent was to warn the West and to do so with documented proof." Certainly, Gouzenko was disillusioned with Stalinism and yearned to raise his

MONTREAL STAR / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-129625

Igor Gouzenko, wearing a mask, shows his novel, *The Fall of a Titan*, to actress Irja Jensen in 1954. Jensen played Katya Gouzenko, a character based on Gouzenko's real wife, Svetlana, in the 1954 film *Operation Manhunt*.

children in a nation free of oppression.

At 9:00 p.m. on September 5, Gouzenko entered the offices of the *Ottawa Journal*, stepped into the newsroom, and waited for acknowledgment from the staff. After receiving the attention of the night editor, Gouzenko was able to utter only a few words: "It's war. It's war. It's Russia." His heavy Russian accent made the incredible accusation even more difficult for the editor to comprehend. After all, the Soviet Union was an ally, still sharing in the postwar triumph.

As Gouzenko grew increasingly agitated, the editor suggested that he share his accusations with the RCMP, whose offices were located within the Department of Justice on nearby Wellington Street.

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Top: Igor Gouzenko prior to his defection in 1945. Above left: Colonel Nikolai Zabotin, leader of the GRU spy ring in Canada. Above right: A poster for the 1948 film *The Iron Curtain*, an American spy thriller based on Gouzenko's memoirs.

Gouzenko rushed to the Justice Building, skipping the RCMP in favour of seeking the justice minister and future prime minister Louis St. Laurent. With the hours waning on Wednesday, and the minister not in, Gouzenko was told by departmental staff to return the following morning.

His first defection attempt foiled, a dejected and scared Gouzenko walked home to his wife, Svetlana, who was at the time pregnant with the couple's second child. They had married as university sweethearts, both of them students at the esteemed Moscow Architectural Institute, before being transferred to Canada during the war. Having a noisy toddler proved fortuitous. The couple's first apartment had shared paper-thin walls with the adjacent Zabotins, but Mrs. Zabotin reportedly detested the continual crying of their two-year-old, Andrei, and urged her husband to allow the Gouzenkos to move to another apartment building. This gave the Gouzenkos greater opportunity to plot their defection.

Distressed and fearful, the couple went to bed uncertain of their fate, aware that Soviet officials at the embassy would soon discover Igor's treasonous act.

The following morning, September 6, Igor and Svetlana trekked back to the Justice Building, heavily laden with both Andrei and state secrets. Again they were denied, this time because St. Laurent refused to see them. The Gouzenkos then returned to the *Ottawa Journal*. With some effort, they were better able to communicate their story, but it was received with incredulity. Their story was either beyond belief or beyond the authority of the newspaper to report; in either case, the *Ottawa Journal* refused to print it. Once again, the couple was told to go to the RCMP. The Gouzenkos resisted the involvement of the police, but they agreed to visit the bureau of naturalization at the Crown attorney's office.

Leaving Andrei with a neighbour, the couple attempted to apply for naturalization but were told that they didn't meet the requirements. Approaching desperation, Igor asked the secretary to the Crown attorney, Fernande Coulson, for protection. Coulson called the RCMP on the Gouzenkos' behalf, yet she received no aid. She then called the private secretary of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King — with the same result. Her frustrations mounting, Coulson was able to arrange a meeting between the Gouzenkos and an RCMP inspector for 9:30 a.m. the following morning.

But time was running out. The Gouzenkos — bone-tired and increasingly paranoid — were forced to return home, unprotected. They went to bed knowing that Soviet agents would soon be looking for them.

Holing themselves up in their apartment, the couple was startled by the sound of pounding on their front door. It was a member of the Soviet Embassy, who repeatedly called for Gouzenko to come out. From the apartment's rear balcony, Gouzenko begged his neighbour, Harold Main, to

TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA C-138882. BOTTOM LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA PA-116421. BOTTOM RIGHT: ALAMY ESM71K

Top: Gouzenko's Somerset Street apartment in Ottawa in 2007. Above left: The Soviet Embassy in Ottawa circa the 1940s. Above centre: The pistol carried by Igor Gouzenko as he and his family hid in their neighbour's apartment while on the run from Soviet agents. Above right: The Gouzenko family lived at this farmhouse at Camp X, located near Oshawa, Ontario, until 1947. While there, the Gouzenkos were given new identities as Czechoslovakian immigrants and lived under RCMP protection.

TOP: PADRAIC RYAN. BOTTOM LEFT: COMMUNICATIONS SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT CANADA. BOTTOM CENTRE: TOR ONT. BOTTOM RIGHT: COMMUNICATIONS SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT CANADA

shelter Andrei. Main, a Royal Canadian Air Force corporal, recognized the danger and hopped on his bicycle to bring the police himself. When the Soviet left, surely to return with more men, the Gouzenkos pleaded with their neighbour across the hall, Frances Elliott, who took in the desperate family. She, unlike so many, understood that this was a life-and-death situation.

All the while, the Gouzenkos' fear grew. They had gambled and lost. Canadian officials did not seem to care, and any return to the embassy was a death sentence. From their window, they had seen two men peering back at them from a bench in Dundonald Park across the street. Igor ducked inside, worried that the men were spies. In fact they were RCMP officers monitoring the building.

Harold Main was able to convince the Ottawa city police to return with him, but they came with little enthusiasm. Meeting with the Gouzenkos, the officers explained that they were unable to do anything, as the apartment was considered Russian property. The police returned to the station, only to have to turn around once again.

From the keyhole of Elliott's apartment, Igor watched as four members of the Soviet Embassy staff battered down his front door. They emptied drawers and searched the rooms, looking for some sign of their stolen documents or their missing cipher clerk. The returning police caught the intruders desperately scattering clothes and peering under the bed. The Soviets reluctantly left after giving their names and ranks to the police officers.

By morning, the Gouzenkos received their meeting with the RCMP, now with much greater urgency. At a cot-

Above left: Igor Gouzenko rarely went out in public without his trademark mask. He's shown here holding a briefcase in Toronto in 1975 as he exits a courtroom after testifying in a lawsuit. The photo, taken by *Toronto Star* photographer Bob Olsen, was locked in a vault in the newspaper's offices and only published after Gouzenko's death in 1982. Above right: The cemetery marker of Igor and Svetlana Gouzenko at Springcreek Cemetery in Mississauga, Ontario. The stone bears the message, "We chose freedom for mankind."

tage outside of Ottawa, officers debriefed Gouzenko and translated his documents. The files revealed a web of spies throughout the Western world, including a Canadian Member of Parliament, a British atomic scientist working with the Canadian Department of External Affairs in Montreal, and scientists and public servants throughout the United States and United Kingdom.

The shocking Gouzenko revelations became front-page news in papers around the world and would eventually fill the pages of dozens of books and countless academic journal articles. They also inspired two Hollywood films. However, they are conspicuously absent in the public diaries of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

During the two months following the event, King kept another secret diary. This diary, now accessible through Library and Archives Canada, displays King's disbelief in the alleged treachery. He wrote: "The individual has incurred the displeasure of the embassy and is looking to shield himself." Unfortunately, the evidence proved King wrong, and the Cold War was beginning — whether or not the prime minister was ready for it.

The Gouzenko family was relocated to Camp X, the Second World War spy-training camp near Oshawa, Ontario. There, under the surveillance of the RCMP, the Gouzenkos' second child, Evelyn, was born. Their parents' stories would be secret even to their children, with Andrei, Evy, and their younger siblings believing for nearly two decades that their parents were Czechoslovakian immigrants. Igor Gouzenko adopted an assumed name and wore a hood over his head during media interviews. He died of a heart attack in 1982, thirty-seven years after his defection. In 2001, Svetlana died and was buried next to her husband at Springcreek Cemetery in Mississauga, Ontario.

Andrew Kavchak, a former civil servant and amateur historian living in Ottawa, was surprised to find no monuments to the Gouzenkos in the city. "For years I wondered how was it possible that the location where Igor and Svetlana Gouzenko lived at the time of their defection was not marked by some sort of historic marker or plaque," Kavchak said. "The first significant international incident of the Cold War happened in downtown Ottawa, and there was nothing to tell the public."

In 1999, Kavchak began lobbying the federal and municipal governments to commemorate the Gouzenko affair. In 2002, after "many bumps and roadblocks along the way," it received federal designation as an event of national historic significance, and it later received commemoration from the city of Ottawa. In 2004 a federal plaque honouring Gouzenko was placed in Ottawa's Dundonald Park, opposite the apartment building where the family had lived.

The stories the Gouzenkos told presented as many surprises and uncertainties as the secrets they revealed, but the service they provided to the West is unquestionable. More than seventy-five years later, we continue to feel its impact.

TOP LEFT: TORONTO STAR ARCHIVES/ BOB OLSEN. TOP RIGHT: ANACONVTRANS

A LIFE UNCOVERED

Evelyn Wilson, the daughter of Igor and Svetlana Gouzenko, spoke with *Canada's History* about living under witness protection at Camp X near Oshawa, Ontario, and, later, at Port Credit, Ontario.

Above: The Gouzenko family at their new home in Port Credit, Ontario, in 1948. Evelyn Wilson (née Gouzenko) is on the far right. Below left: Svetlana Gouzenko at age twenty-four in 1948. Below right: Evelyn Gouzenko, also twenty-four, in her University of Toronto graduation photo in 1970.

Did your parents know much about Canada or the West prior to moving here?
When they arrived, they had a certain perception of … what Canadians and Americans were like, and as each day passed their illusions were dispelled. They discovered that Canada and the United States were beautiful countries, with beautiful people and very prosperous societies – [and] certainly more freedoms than they had ever known in their lives. They were born into a totalitarian society … and really knew no other.

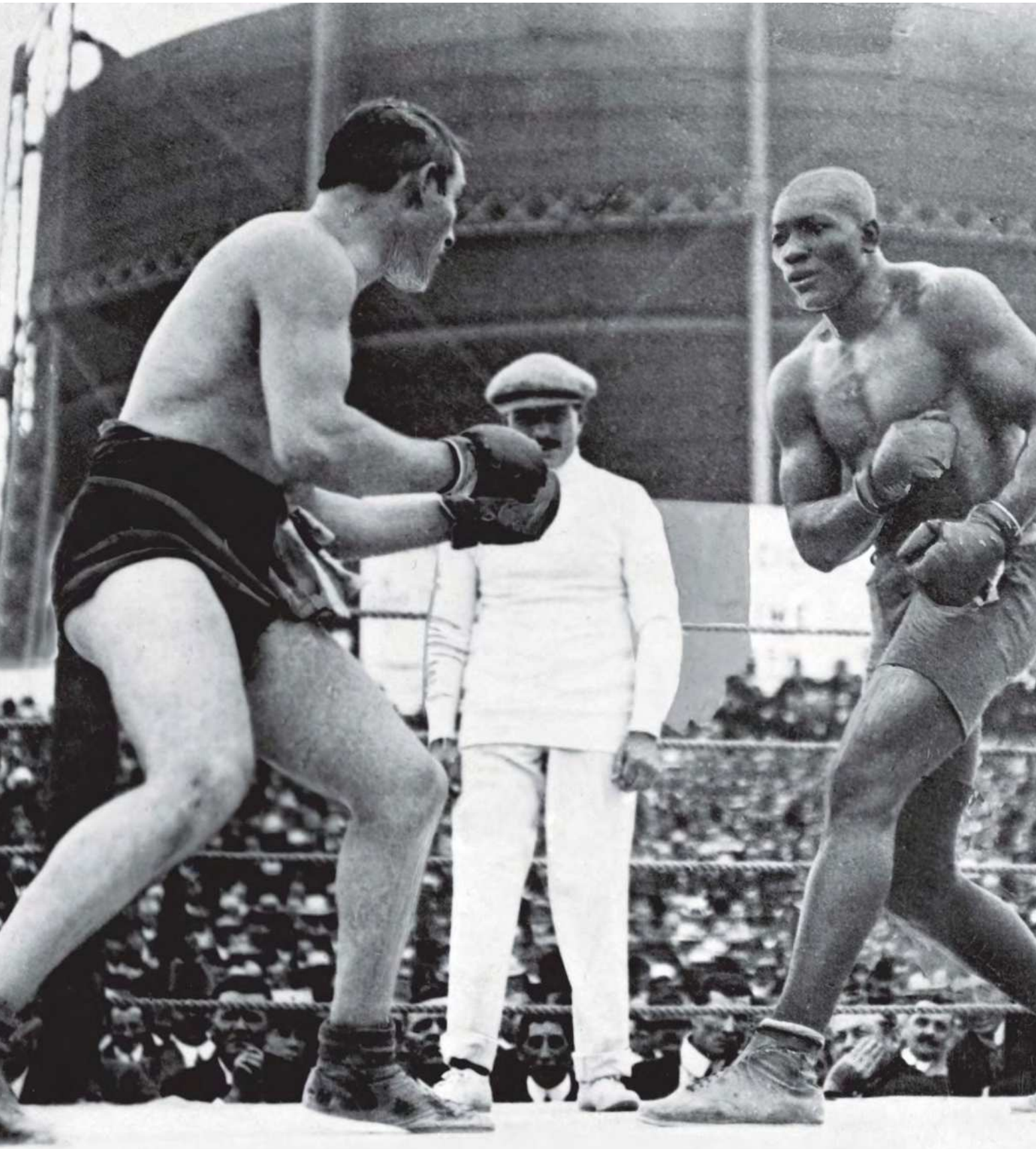
Growing up, how aware were you of your parents' real identities?
I had no knowledge of it. We grew up with the understanding that we were a Czechoslovakian family. We believed this; we had no reason to think otherwise. Our parents had accents [and] spoke a different language, [but] we were not allowed to speak that language. We lived in a community that was largely Anglo-Saxon … so we were rather the odd family out. … But beyond that I would say that we felt pretty normal growing up in that community. … Certainly, we didn't pay much attention to politics. But later in life, as you reflect, you do see a juxtaposition of history and day-to-day events in growing up in a witness-protection program.

How did you find out the truth?
It wasn't until my mid-teens. We all knew about events in the Cold War, but they didn't seem to impact us directly as students in public school and high school. We certainly heard about the different confrontations – when Czechoslovakia was invaded [by the Russians], when Hungary was invaded…. I really didn't understand any of the story until my mother told me [our] true identity. It happened because I confronted her with an event that happened at school, so I brought it to her and said, "You know, this doesn't make sense. Can you explain?" and she did. We were in the kitchen. She just kept talking, and I kept listening … and questioning. And the bottom line is, she said, "You must keep this absolutely secret. When confronted, you simply pass it off, you simply dismiss it … and carry on for the sake of the family." I think this has always been their first priority – the family. They really did protect us.

IMAGES COURTESY EVELYN WILSON

Many Canadians know of Igor and Svetlana Gouzenko as historical figures. What were they like as people?
They were the best parents anyone could imagine, considering the demands on their lives. Once I put myself in their shoes, I understood so much better [the] sacrifice they made and how amazing they were in their roles as parents. I know my father was among the very best fathers there could be. He would be really concerned about our security and safety – these were his number one priority. They were [also] true artists at heart. Now, that wasn't part of the cover story – that they were artists – but every day they were involved in artwork. These are some of the greatest memories I have of our parents – sitting at the easel and painting [with] their oils. They met in university in art school … and they both loved art. This thread carried on right through their life. I'm sure it kept them strong and able to handle some of the most difficult experiences that anyone could imagine.

What do you want readers to take away from your story?
I hope they are able to identify with our parents and the difficulties that they had in their lives here in Canada under these very difficult circumstances. They were certainly wonderful people. They had a love of art [and] music, [and they] certainly appreciated education and its value and encouraged us all in these directions.



Canadian Tommy Burns, left, fights American Jack Johnson
for the world heavyweight championship in Sydney, Australia, in 1908.

LONELY WARRIOR

How Tommy Burns, the only Canadian-born world heavyweight boxing champion, was knocked flat for his refusal to toe the colour line.

by Kerry Banks

In August 1908, Canadian-born heavyweight boxing champion Tommy Burns arrived in Perth, Australia, to a hero's reception. At the time, Burns was one of the world's most famous athletes, and Australians were thrilled to have him in their midst.

They loved his underdog story, his quick wit, and his sartorial style, which included a silk top hat, velvet-collared coats, a gold-headed walking stick, and metal-flecked silk shirts that shimmered as if on fire. Standing five feet seven and weighing 170 pounds, Burns was the smallest man ever to hold the heavyweight crown. And, while his modest stature made him a figure of ridicule in Britain and the United States, the Aussies loved his compact physique, dubbing him the "Napoleonic Fisticutter."

The cocky Canadian came to Australia via steamship on the last leg of a lucrative world tour that had seen him post thirteen successful title defences, eight in the United States and five in Europe. His defeated opponents were as much as six inches taller and thirty pounds heavier.

The Australian tour should have sealed his legacy. Instead, it derailed his career and earned him widespread scorn — all because he broke an unwritten rule to uphold the racist notion of white superiority.

Unfortunately, few Canadians today have heard of Tommy Burns and his remarkable accomplishments. The only Canadian-born fighter ever to hold the world heavyweight title, he reigned over the division for close to three years, defending his title more often than the five previous heavyweight champions combined had done in a twenty-four-year period. His heavyweight milestones include the most consecutive knockout victories by a reigning champion (eight) and the second-fastest knockout in a title bout (eighty-eight seconds). His thirteen consecutive title defences still rank him fourth, behind only Americans Joe Louis and Larry Holmes and Wladimir Klitschko of Ukraine.

In addition to his boxing triumphs, the stocky brawler led a colourful, action-packed life that has been documented by writers such as Pierre Berton, Dan McCaffery, William Denison, and Stephen Gamester. Burns once won an Alaskan gold mine in a poker game and then journeyed to Nome, Alaska, where he engaged in a gunfight with thieves and fought the champion of the north, a brute of a man named Klondike Mike Mahoney. He also staged theatrical shows in which he

PHILIPP KESTER/ULLSTEIN BILD VIA GETTY IMAGES

Top: Tommy Burns (born Noah Brusso) circa 1908.

Above: Tommy Burns defended his title against many of his era's top fighters, including American boxer "Fireman" Jim Flynn, seen here sparring circa 1910–15. Flynn (born Andrew Chiariglione) was famed for his ferocious punching power. Burns fought Flynn in 1906, stopping the New Jersey native in the fifthteenth round.

screened films of his fights, told jokes, and gave sparring exhibitions. Perhaps most surprisingly of all, he served as his own manager, arranging fights and negotiating purses.

However, his fame eroded quickly, and by the time of his death in 1955 his sporting exploits had faded from public memory. This reversal of fortune is tied to a racially charged event that took place in Australia in 1908. But, before we explore that turning point, we need to go back to the beginning.

Burns was born Noah Brusso, the son of impoverished German immigrants who lived in a log cabin near the southern Ontario town of Hanover on June 17, 1881. He was the twelfth of thirteen children, five of whom died before reaching adulthood. His father was a bitter and abusive man who failed to support the family, and Brusso had to leave school at age ten to work at a grocery store. He spent his teen years drifting between menial jobs.

Though life was a struggle, Brusso excelled at sports, especially lacrosse. He became known as one of Canada's most gifted players and one of the toughest, always willing to engage in the fist fights that were common during games at the time.

In 1900, during a stint as a baggage handler aboard a steamer on Lake Michigan, Brusso jumped ship in Detroit, where he found work as a painter. Shortly afterward, he joined a boxing club. Within two years he had won the middleweight championship of Michigan.

It was in Detroit that Brusso participated in a bout that had profound effects on his personal life. He won a fight in January 1904 by knocking out Ben "Gorilla" O'Grady, who fell into a coma. Brusso was arrested for assault and battery, but the charges were dropped when O'Grady revived four days later. However, news of the incident got back to Hanover, and Brusso's mother became deeply upset. To soothe her mind, Brusso promised to stop fighting. But instead he merely changed his name to Tommy Burns, after a famous Canadian jockey of the day, and continued his fistic career.

In 1904, Burns married and moved to Los Angeles. The following year he defeated Dave Barry to become the Pacific Coast middleweight champion. He was now making good money but was having trouble keeping his weight below the 158-pound middleweight limit. The next division up was the light heavyweight class, whose limit was 178 pounds, but Burns had his sights set on the more glamorous and lucrative heavyweight division. He added some muscle and began to take on bigger opponents.

His timing proved prescient. That year, undefeated heavyweight champion James J. Jeffries retired. To determine a new champion, Jeffries proposed that Marvin Hart, a leading contender, battle Jack Root, the light-heavyweight champ, for the title. After Hart floored Root in fourteen rounds, he was besieged with offers from challengers. Burns was one of the candidates. Hart, at six feet tall and 205 pounds, regarded a fight with the smaller-sized man as a way to earn some easy money. So he chose Burns as his first

TOP: NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA. BOTTOM ALAMY F5N980

Tommy Burns, left, spars with an unidentified opponent in 1908. Burns, at five feet seven inches, was shorter than many of his opponents but had an unusally long reach (seventy-four inches) for his height.

opponent. The match was set for the Pacific Athletic Club in Los Angeles on February 23, 1906.

The press greeted news of the match with derision. The *Chicago Daily Journal* declared that Burns could no more beat Hart than "he could drop-kick a steam engine." Former champion Jeffries agreed: "Hart will tear him to pieces. That Canadian shrimp won't last to hear the bell for round two."

The match went twenty rounds. By the end of it, Hart's face was a bleeding and bruised mess, and the judges declared the "Canadian shrimp" heavyweight champion of the world.

Afterwards, a reporter asked Burns a question that would have a profound effect on his career: Would he follow tradition and draw the colour line, an unwritten rule that meant no white champion would risk losing the world title against a black challenger?

"No," replied Burns, who had already fought seven black fighters in his career. "I will defend my title as heavyweight champion of the world against all comers, none barred. By this I mean white, black, Mexican, Indian, or any other nationality. I propose to be the champion of the world, not the white, or Canadian, or the American, or any other limited degree of champion."

His declaration shocked the United States, especially the South, where society remained deeply segregated. Burns' willingness to face — and to possibly lose to — a black man threatened the widespread belief in white superiority. Almost three years later, that faulty notion would be tested in the ring.

Tommy Burns is depicted on an Imperial Tobacco lacrosse card circa 1910–11.

Burns quickly began arranging fights to solidify his championship status. To drum up interest for his first title defence, Burns arranged to fight two challengers in one night. Neither challenger was highly ranked, and Burns knocked out both men in the first round. Later he met tougher opponents, including "Fireman" Jim Flynn, a murderous puncher. Burns floored Flynn in round fifteen. Burns also staged two title bouts with Jack O'Brien, considered the best light heavyweight in the world. The first fight was declared a draw, but Burns took the second by decision.

On his world travels Burns was often mistakenly referred to as an American, an

TOP: PHOTOQUEST/GETTY IMAGES 603983990. BOTTOM: PUBLIC DOMAIN

impression he swiftly corrected. Burns was proud of his Canadian upbringing and credited it with contributing to his ring prowess and unique style.

In contrast to other boxers who battled flat-footed, Burns stayed on his toes, darting in and out, using speed and motion to confuse opponents. His incredibly strong legs were developed during years of playing outdoor lacrosse in Ontario. He said that, compared with weightlifting, "Lacrosse gives you the same mighty strength but makes you a spindle of steel springs. The lacrosse player is like a cat on his feet." He was also blessed with a long reach for a man of his size and could land telling blows from long range.

Another innovation was his approach to training. An Aussie reporter who spent a week with Burns wrote, "His training exercises — they range from tree climbing to swimming in snow-fed rivers and sprinting up hills to horseback riding." He also enjoyed taunting his foes to provoke their tempers, knowing that it would make them reckless and lead to mistakes.

Burns' international tour was a novelty for his day. No previous heavyweight champion had ever defended the title outside of the United States. Big money had lured Burns to Australia in August 1908. He was offered fifteen thousand dollars to fight the nation's top two heavyweights — Bill Lang and Bill Squires. He stiffened both of them in an eleven-day span and then settled back to await an even larger payday.

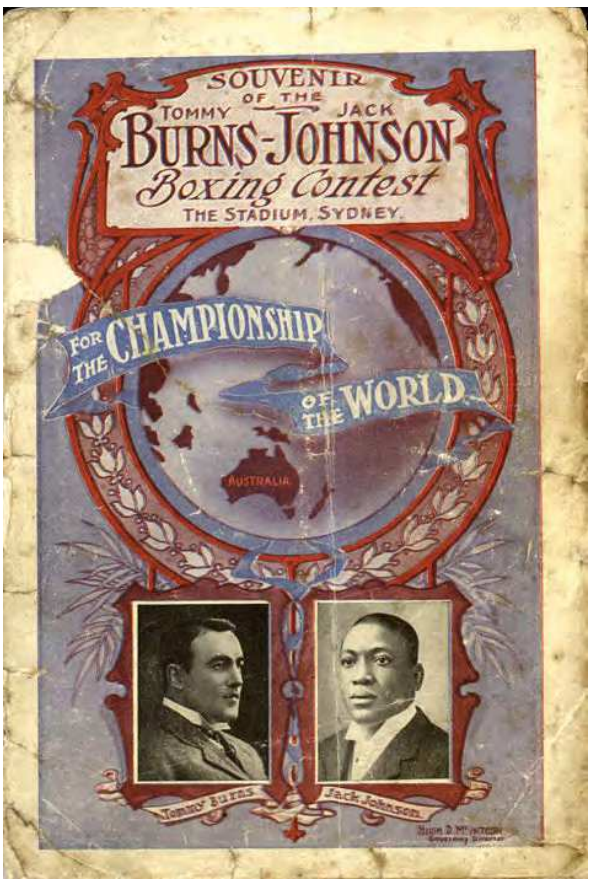
TOP: STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES; BOTTOM: ALAMY GE154Y

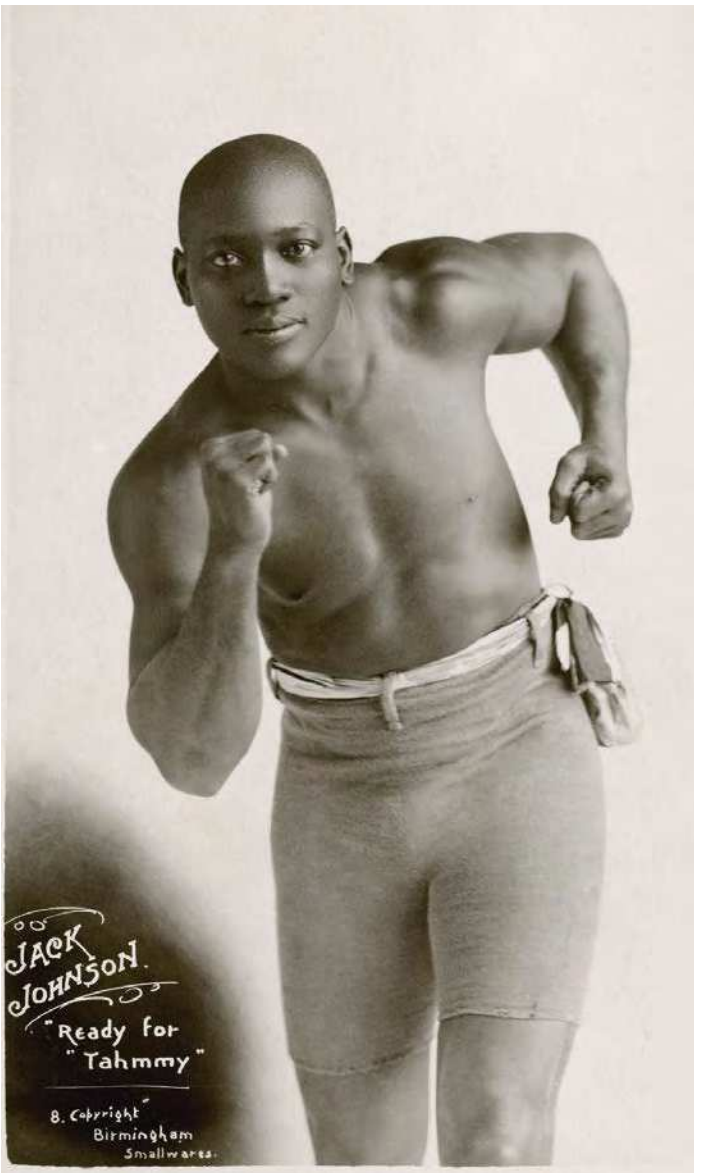
Left: A massive crowd gathers for the title bout between Canadian Tommy Burns and American Jack Johnson in 1908. The fight was held at Sydney Stadium in Sydney, Autralia.

Opposite page bottom: Jack Johnson poses with his wife, Etta Duryea, circa 1911. The couple suffered harsh criticism for their interracial marriage and in 1912, Duryea took her own life, reportedly overwhelmed by stress. American newspapers were quick to blame Johnson for his wife's decision to commit suicide.

Bottom left: A souvenir poster for the 1908 Burns versus Johnson title fight.

Bottom right: Jack Johnson in a promotional still made in 1908.





BOTTOM LEFT: THEFIGHTCITY.COM. BOTTOM RIGHT: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA NAA A1861

An illustration of boxers found on Greek pottery created for the Panathenaic festival in Athens in 336 BC.

ANSWERING THE BELL

From bare-knuckle brawling to modern fisticuffs, the "sweet science" has a violent yet colourful history.

The sport of boxing dates back centuries, with matches taking place as early as the Olympic Games in ancient Greece.

The first recorded match occurred in Britain in 1681. Fighters fought with bare knuckles, and there were no weight divisions. Attacking opponents after they had fallen was permitted, hence the term "hit a man when he's down." Fights continued until one combatant was incapacitated.

In 1743, a British boxer introduced the first official regulations; he was reportedly inspired to action after personally killing an opponent in the ring. In 1867, new Queensberry Rules called for padded gloves, three-minute rounds, and a ten-second count for fighters knocked to the ground. Wrestling holds were banned, and the first weight divisions were introduced. Matches lasted far longer than today. The longest recorded fight took place in 1893 in Louisiana, going 110 rounds over a seven-hour-and-nineteen-minute span before ending in a draw, with both boxers suffering broken hands and unable to throw punches.

In North America, boxing was embraced by immigrants, with some of the top brawlers coming from Irish, Jewish, and African-American communities. Boxers typically fought dozens of fights over their careers, with little care given to their long-term health. Many veterans became punch-drunk from head trauma after "getting their bell rung" too many times.

By the early twentieth century, boxing had grown into the premier sport in the world, with its champions exalted as celebrities. While boxing's allure has been somewhat supplanted by an up-and-comer – mixed martial arts – today's top boxing matches still draw millions of viewers via pay-per-view events, with some purses measured in hundreds of millions of dollars for the fighters. – *M.C. Reid*

It was then that promoter Hugh "Huge Deal" McIntosh offered Burns thirty thousand Australian dollars to defend his title against black heavyweight Jack Johnson. That was more than twice as much as any boxer had ever been paid for a fight. Burns agreed to the bout, which was set for December 26, 1908, in an outdoor stadium that McIntosh constructed for the event in the Sydney suburb of Rushcutter's Bay.

Johnson would only receive $5,000 for the fight, but it was a chance to make history as the first black champion. A top contender for many years, he had pursued Burns around the globe, showing up at ringside to goad the champ into agreeing to a showdown.

The African-American posed a serious threat. A son of former slaves, the "Galveston Giant" broke every convention of the time for black men. He wore top hats and expensive suits; he drove fancy cars; he ran nightclubs and mixed with gangsters and poets, even befriending the czar of Russia and Rasputin, the mystic holy man. Johnson also dated white women, a major taboo for black men in that era.

The press promoted the fight as a race war. England's *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* published a blatantly racist editorial, stating: "Citizens who have never prayed before are supplicating Providence to give the white man a strong right arm with which to belt [Johnson, whom the newspaper described with a racial slur] into oblivion."

Meanwhile, the two boxers traded insults. The Canadian champ told the *New York World*, "I'll whip him as surely as my name is Tommy Burns." Given that his real name was Noah Russo, perhaps that was an intentional slip. It's possible Burns didn't feel he could actually win. Johnson was a more experienced fighter, seven inches taller, and thirty pounds heavier, with a longer reach. He was also known for his defensive wizardry and cobra-like quickness. Certainly, by fight time Burns couldn't have felt confident as he had been battling an illness — rumoured to be jaundice or influenza — and entered the tilt at 163 pounds, 10 pounds less than for his previous fight.

On Boxing Day, a capacity crowd of twenty thousand fans took their seats in the stadium. Many had arrived on Christmas night and had slept outside the arena. Another twenty thousand gathered outside the gates. They overwhelmingly backed Burns. McIntosh had a movie camera mounted on a platform to record the bout, which he would later screen to the public for a handsome profit. While only ten minutes of action of the forty-minute clash have survived until today, they offer a glimpse of a one-sided affair. The footage can be viewed on YouTube.

Although Burns delivered a few solid blows early on, he could not effectively penetrate Johnson's masterful defence. The challenger easily tied up the champion and manhandled him, landing stinging uppercuts and crosses. The fighters taunted each other throughout the bout, but Johnson was clearly more at ease, smiling, and bantering with the hostile crowd. By the fourteenth round, Johnson was hammering Burns at will, driving him around in circles. Suddenly, as Burns began to stagger, the police

ALAMY EX733Y

stormed the ring, shut off the camera, and halted the fight to avoid the embarrassing spectacle of a black fighter knocking out a white champion. McIntosh, who was serving as referee, declared Johnson the winner.

The loss was the beginning of the sudden and rapid downfall of Tommy Burns' ring career. The media launched an immediate smear campaign, downplaying Johnson's victory by dismissing the Canadian as a weak champion. Famed novelist Jack London, who covered the bout for the *New York Herald*, was especially cutting: "The fight? There was no fight. No Armenian massacre could compare with the hopeless slaughter that took place today. Burns never landed a blow … a dew-drop had more chance than he with the giant Ethiopian."

Former heavyweight champion James J. Jeffries predicted, "The Canadian never will be forgiven by the public for allowing the title of the best physical man in the world to be wrested from his keeping by a member of the African race."

Two years later, Jeffries was lured out of retirement to fight Johnson in an effort to "restore the pride" of the white race. But the legend fared no better than Burns, getting viciously battered and knocked out in the fifteenth round in Reno, Nevada, on the Fourth of July. Dozens of race riots erupted in the United States after the fight, with angry whites attacking blacks who celebrated Johnson's win.

Johnson, who held the title until 1915, was among the few to speak favourably of Burns. During a stop in Vancouver in 1909, he reportedly said, "Let me say of Mr. Burns, a Canadian and one of yourselves, that he has done what no one else ever did, he gave a black man a chance for the championship. He was beaten, but he was game."

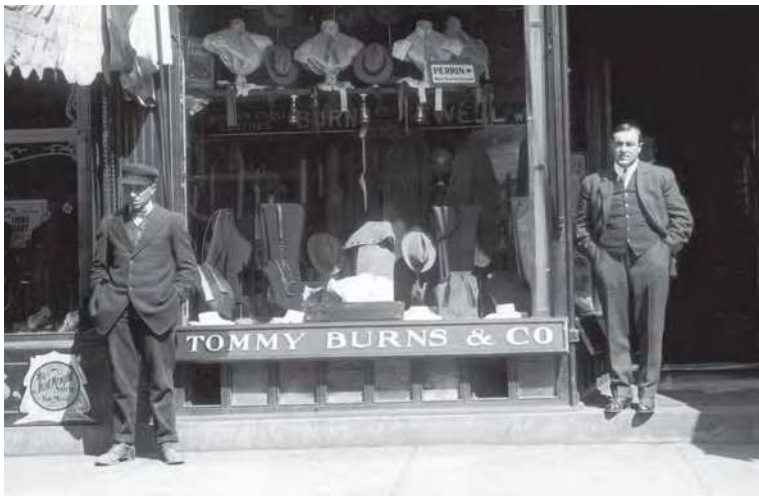
Even today, there are ill-informed detractors who belittle Burns' feats and question the abilities of his opponents, while ignoring the talent needed to move up several weight divisions and still knock out larger fighters.

Restoring Burns' reputation was a driving motivation behind Canadian author Dan McCaffery's 2000 biography, *Tommy Burns: Canada's Unknown Heavyweight Champion*. McCaffery, a long-time sportswriter, admitted that he had never heard of Burns until 1974, when he interviewed Muhammad Ali and learned that Johnson was Ali's favourite fighter. McCaffery was amazed to discover that Johnson had won the title from a Canadian.

"Burns broke the colour line as the only guy who wouldn't duck black fighters," McCaffery said. "He really was a trailblazer. He changed all professional sports, but at a great personal loss to himself."

To this day Burns has not received his just due. Canada's first heavyweight world champion was posthumously inducted into the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame and the Canadian Boxing Hall of Fame in 1955, but he was not inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame until 1996, and the Ontario Sports Hall of Fame did not honour him until 2012.

Burns fought only six times in the last eleven years of his career, finishing with a record of forty-seven wins, four losses, and eight draws.



Top: Tommy Burns, right, stands outside Burns & Sewell, his tailored clothing store in Calgary, in 1920.

Above: Tommy Burns shakes hands with Jack Johnson, second from the right, as fellow boxers Jack Dempsey, centre, and Bob Fitzsimmons, right, look on at New York's Madison Square Garden in 1929.

After retiring, Burns promoted boxing shows, managed a Calgary clothing store, and fathered four daughters with the second of his three wives. He later became a pub owner in England, a speakeasy manager in New York, and then — after losing his fortune in the 1929 Wall Street crash — took odd jobs as an insurance salesman, a security guard, and finally, a preacher in California who denounced violence while spreading the gospel of "Universal Love."

That spiritual calling ended abruptly and obscurely in 1955. While visiting an evangelical group in Vancouver, the seventy-three-year-old suffered a fatal heart attack. According to the *Vancouver Sun* only four people — two gravediggers and two passersby — attended his burial at Ocean View Cemetery in Burnaby, B.C.

His grave remained unmarked until 1961, when sportswriter Dick Beddoes and Hall of Fame hockey player Fred "Cyclone" Taylor raised funds for a memorial plaque. The dedication ceremony took place on a cold November day, with Rev. Arthur Turpin speaking a few consoling words. The assembled mourners doffed their hats in tribute as a trumpeter played "Last Post." As the final note faded in the wind, Turpin solemnly declared, "The lonely warrior can rest in peace at last."

TOP: TOPICAL PRESS AGENCY/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES 527669 36
BOTTOM: S&G/PA IMAGES VIA GETTY IMAGES 637446870

Charles H. Best, left, and Frederick G. Banting stand with Dog 408 on the roof of the University of Toronto's medical building in August 1921.

INSULIN LIBRARY, UTORONTOP10077

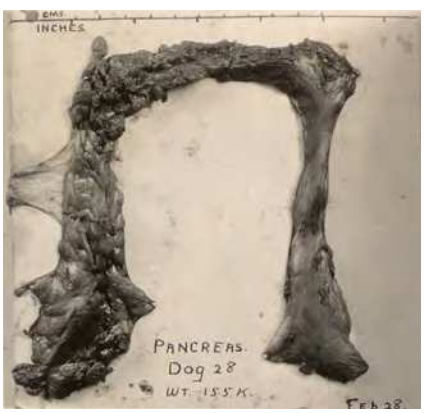
MANUFACTURING HOPE

The discovery of insulin a century ago saved the lives of millions of diabetics. But the breakthrough was fraught with drama, competition, and conflict. ***by John Lorinc***

ONE MILD DAY IN THE MIDDLE OF MAY 1921, two men entered a small, filthy upper-floor room in the University of Toronto's imposing medical building, on King's College Circle, and began to scrub every surface. The elder of the pair, Frederick G. Banting, was a twenty-nine-year-old orthopedic surgeon, then based in London, Ontario. The other was Charles H. Best, a twenty-two-year-old physiology and biochemistry student who had just finished his fourth year at the U of T. They had met just days before — introduced by John J.R. Macleod, one of Best's professors and an eminent U of T scientist.

Months earlier, Banting had cold-called Macleod with an idea for treating diabetes, a debilitating and frequently lethal condition that impairs the body's ability to metabolize carbohydrates. Scientists had long believed that the pancreas produced a substance that breaks down sugar, allowing it to be converted into energy. Banting, who had no experience in endocrinology, wanted to surgically induce diabetes in laboratory animals by tying off or removing the pancreas and extracting what a later collaborator dubbed the "mysterious" substance. He would then re-administer this secretion to see if the diabetes symptoms — excessive sugar in blood and urine, weight loss, kidney failure, coma — would abate.

Macleod, a Scottish physiologist with extensive experience in this field, was skeptical but sufficiently interested that he offered Banting a tiny space in which to work, a lab assistant (Best), and access to some of the medical school's resources.



The pancreas of Dog 28. Experiments on dog pancreases eventually led to the discovery of insulin.

On May 17, Banting and Best returned to their now-tidied workroom and performed the first operation, on a brown spaniel. For the next three months, the pair carried out numerous such procedures on other lab dogs, testing different ways of reviving the animals with a substance they began to refer to as "isletin." The summer was sultry; the conditions in their airless space were abysmal. They even had to help to clean the cages of the lab animals in the room next door in order to contain the reek.

Worse, Banting's scheme did not seem to be working. With a few dogs they observed hints of progress, only to watch as the animals soon died. On August 11, however, they performed the procedure on a yellow collie, identified as "Dog 92" in Banting's lab journal. After removing the collie's pancreas and triggering a diabetic response, they injected it with their isletin serum, and the animal responded immediately. Dog 92 thrived, becoming not only their de facto lab pet but frisky proof that they might be on to something. Yet in late August the collie's health began to falter as it stopped responding to new forms of the isletin that Banting and Best had produced from cats and rabbits. Finally, on August 31, Dog 92 died.

Weary and frustrated, Banting felt overwhelmed. "I have seen patients die and I have never shed a tear," he noted in his 1940 memoir, in a passage quoted in Michael Bliss's fascinating 1982 book, *The Discovery of Insulin*. "[B]ut when that dog died I wanted to be alone for the tears would fall despite anything I could do."

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Scarcely half a year later, Banting, Best, Macleod, and University of Alberta biochemist James Collip — who had joined the project in the fall of 1921 — were in a position to publish the results of successful early human clinical trials of insulin derived from beef pancreas. Requests for treatment from desperate parents of ailing diabetic children poured in to Toronto as word spread. The drug soon went into mass production, earning, in 1923, a Nobel Prize for Banting and Macleod.

It would be fair to say that insulin is quite possibly Canada's most consequential scientific achievement, and it's certainly the discovery that put U of T on the global research map. Now synthesized and produced in various forms, insulin remains the treatment of choice for type 1, or juvenile, diabetes, which is a chronic and possibly genetic condition that begins in childhood. Type 2 diabetes, which typically begins in adulthood and is strongly associated with carbohydrate-rich diets and sedate lifestyles, is likewise treated with insulin but also requires behavioural changes and other forms of glucose monitoring to prevent related illnesses such as stroke, heart disease, blindness, and gangrene in the lower extremities.

An estimated 415 million people worldwide suffer from diabetes (2015 figures), and that number is expected to rise to about 640 million by 2040. The United States alone spends about US$1 billion a year on diabetes research. In Canada, where almost a third of the population either suffers from diabetes or is at risk of developing it, the estimated cost of treatment between 2012 and 2022 will be $15 billion. The direct cost to the health-care system for 2020 alone was $3.8 billion.

Top: Unidentified research staff members work in a laboratory room at the Banting Institute circa 1930.

Above: Vials of insulin bottled circa 1925.

Banting and Best's century-old breakthrough came scarcely two years after the calamitous 1918–20 Spanish flu pandemic. The discovery played a role in the major medical and public-health advances that defined the 1920s, according to the Canadian Public Health Association. The legacy of their work played out in other ways, too. For example, during a 1923 House of Commons debate on how to recognize the discovery, one Conservative MP, Tommy Church, bruited the idea of federal funding for scientists, something that's now taken for granted but was unheard of then. Two years later, Banting set up a research foundation that continues to give out grants to scientists. In 1930, the U of T established the Banting and Best Department of Medical Research, on the north edge of the campus, with Best, by then a full professor and medical doctor, as its first director.

What's more, the insulin discovery laid the groundwork for two critical developments in the then-nascent pharmaceutical industry. Thanks to an innovative production and intellectual-property partnership between the inventors, the U of T, and the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories — a self-financing arm of the university's department of hygiene — large quantities of insulin were produced using highly standardized methods to ensure quality and with price controls in place. Both measures meant that diabetics had access to reliable versions of the drug, which they had to take multiple times a day for the rest of their lives. By the 1930s, governments in Canada and the United States began to regulate the testing and production of drugs to ensure safety. The irony is that scientists and pharmaceutical companies today would never be able to develop a drug like insulin in the way that Banting and Best did in 1921.

Yet, for all its many epic elements, the story of insulin, as Bliss showed, involved lots of human drama and a disconcerting amount of chance. At various times, the friction among the four scientists threatened to boil over. Banting almost gave up several times and was angry that the Nobel jury didn't recognize Best's work. The project was by no means a predictable march in the direction of a foregone conclusion. Indeed, scientists in Germany and Romania, among other places, were also zeroing in on the same insights that drove Banting and Best.

"What makes this story unique is that there were four people in the right place at the right time, working on the same project," said Grant Maltman, curator of the Banting House Museum in London, Ontario, which is something of a pilgrimage site for diabetes sufferers and scientists alike. "As Michael Bliss said, Banting and Best in 1921 were leading in a race they didn't know they were in."

As the urban legend had it, Banting awoke in the middle of the night on October 31, 1920, having literally dreamt up an approach to finding a way of isolating the mysterious pancreatic substance that might cure diabetes. The tale became a fixture in the U of T-fuelled hagiography that grew

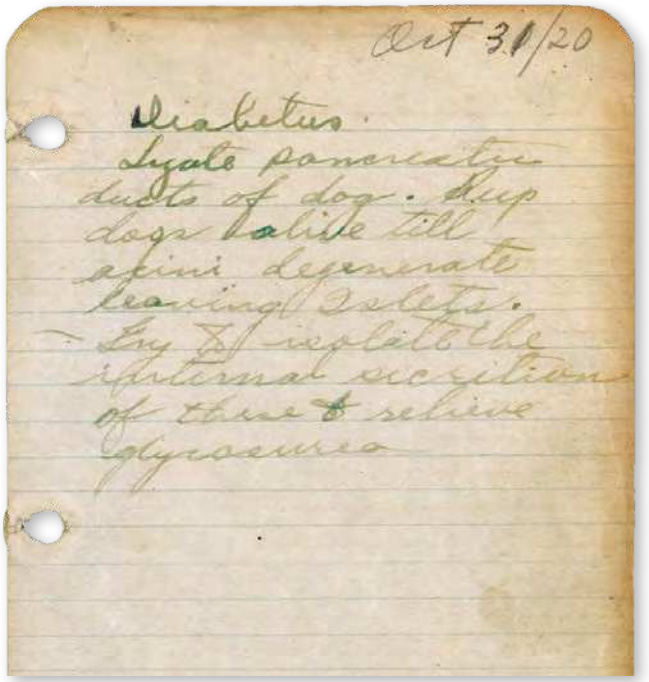
TOP: INSULIN LIBRARY UTORONTO/ P10126; BOTTOM: INSULIN LIBRARY UTORONTO/B10002

Frederick Banting in 1922.

Charles Best in 1921

James Collip in 1920.

John Macleod in 1928.



A page containing a short note written by Frederick Banting in October 1920. The experimental procedure proposed in Banting's note eventually led to the discovery of insulin.

up around Banting, who died in a 1941 plane crash.

Best went on to become one of the U of T's stars. "He defined the story for a long time," said medical historian Christopher Rutty, an adjunct U of T public health professor who has written an account of the discovery for the heritage organization Defining Moments Canada and pharmaceutical company Sanofi Pasteur Canada. "People were afraid to argue with him."

Shortly before Best's death in 1978, Michael Bliss, then early in his career as a U of T professor of Canadian history, began to reconstruct the momentous discovery, drawing on lab notes, archival material, and interviews with surviving witnesses and early patients. Bliss, interested from childhood in medicine and eventually the author of three books on medical history, wanted to cut through the mythology in order to tell the insulin story that emerged from primary sources.

Born in the farming community of Alliston, north of Toronto, Banting was a hard-working but not especially brilliant student. He served in the Canadian military during the First World War, gaining extensive experience as a battlefield surgeon. After the war, he was awarded the Military Cross and worked briefly at Toronto's Christie Street Veteran's Hospital but failed to find a permanent position as a surgeon in the city. A mentor suggested that he hang out a shingle in London, Ontario, which worked out because his fiancée lived in nearby Ingersoll.

Banting bought a rambling yellow-brick house near London's downtown and set up his practice in the summer of 1920. As Maltman noted, his first patient turned up a month later, a man looking for a prescription for alcohol for a friend with a drinking problem. "A great Canadian hero starts off his career as a bootlegger," he said.

That fall, Bliss wrote, the University of Western Ontario's medical school offered Banting a gig as a lab demonstrator and occasional lecturer, for two dollars an hour. Towards the end of October, he was asked to deliver a talk on carbohydrate metabolism, a subject about which Banting knew little. The night before the lecture, he found himself reading a medical journal article loosely related to the topic, by Moses Barron, an American pathologist.

The small study described Barron's observations about what happened when gallstones blocked a pancreatic duct, as well as the relationship between the viability of certain cells, known as the "islets of Langerhans," in the pancreas and the onset of diabetes. The finding was minor, Bliss noted. "The sole importance of Barron's article in the history of medicine is that Fred Banting happened to read it in the evening of a day he had been thinking about carbohydrate metabolism."

Late that night, Banting lay in bed, tossing and turning as he fretted about money and the lecture. As he turned the subject around in his mind, he had a thought, which he jotted in a notebook he kept next to his bed. "Diabetus [sic]. Ligate pancreatic ducts of a dog. Keep dogs alive till acini degenerates leaving Islets. Try to isolate internal secretion of these to relieve glycosurea [excess sugar in the urine]."

"Those fifteen words," Maltman said, referring to the first sentence, "led to the discovery of insulin." Banting's wee-hours inspiration, moreover, reflected his surgical training. After all, the idea turned on a finicky procedure: tying off tiny tubes at one end of a pancake-shaped organ tucked underneath the stomach.

At the time, the state of the art in diabetes treatment involved

TOP RIGHT: INSULIN LIBRARY UTORONTO/N10002. TOP CENTRE: INSULIN LIBRARY UTORONTO/P10030. TOP LEFT: INSULIN LIBRARY UTORONTO/P10042
BOTTOM LEFT: INSULIN LIBRARY UTORONTO/P10005. BOTTOM RIGHT: INSULIN LIBRARY UTORONTO/P10134

Teddy Ryder, a five-year-old American boy, was among the first to receive insulin treatments in 1922. On the left, he is seen weighing only twenty-seven pounds prior to treatment. A year after his treatment in Toronto, he is seen at right weighing forty-five pounds. Thanks to the discovery of insulin, Ryder survived until the age of seventy-six.

starvation diets, an approach pioneered by a stern American physician named Frederick Allen. Late in the nineteenth century, quackery prevailed among diabetes "experts," who claimed they could revive patients from diabetic comas with "cures" ranging from sodium bicarbonate to opium. Some doctors told sufferers to eat as much as possible, but, Bliss wrote, Allen believed in combating the "modern fallacy" that the solution lay in replacing calories lost due to excessive urination, a hallmark of diabetes. His approach: Bring patients, mostly children, to the brink of starvation with strict no-carbohydrate diets that contained well under one thousand calories per day.

Macleod came from a very different camp. A well-regarded scientist who taught at Cleveland's Western Reserve University before coming to the U of T, he had written a book in 1913 on the physiology of diabetes, concluding that the pancreas produced an "internal secretion" that regulated blood sugar and that was absent in diabetics. Allen, however, dismissed such theories. Macleod himself, Bliss wrote, was skeptical that the secretion could ever be isolated and used as a treatment.

When Banting was casting around for whom to approach about his middle-of-the-night brainstorm, colleagues directed him to Macleod. The young surgeon and the veteran, self-possessed professor — Macleod was forty-six when they first met on November 7, 1920, and "intimidating," as Rutty observed — had a tumultuous relationship. Macleod agreed to allow Banting to test his hypothesis, partly in order to confirm that the elusive secretion couldn't be obtained by ligating the pancreas and extracting those cells after it atrophied. Rutty noted that Macleod was impressed by Banting's surgical skills. "Banting stood a better chance of completing the procedure effectively," he said. But the young surgeon bristled at the notion that his idea would merely be pressed into service to close off a potential line of scientific inquiry.

At the end of that hot, frustrating summer of 1921, Banting reported the halting progress to date, while Macleod, who had spent those months in Scotland, offered up his own sharp critiques. At one point, Banting brashly threatened to take his research elsewhere if Macleod didn't provide more resources, including a janitor to clean the animal cages and some kind of stipend for himself. Macleod relented.

Banting and Best also had their moments. Bliss describes one incident when Banting read Best, who was very much the junior partner, the riot act for failing to keep the lab spotless and hygienic. Banting later recounted wondering whether they would come to blows. Best stormed off but ultimately responded by cleaning the equipment and ensuring that their modest facilities were properly maintained from then on. On other occasions, it fell to the younger man to talk Banting down when failures in the lab brought on dark moods and weekends full of hard drinking.

As the fall of 1921 progressed, the two dogged researchers began to see some more encouraging results from their experiments with various permutations and approaches to extracting the mystery secretion. Another U of T professor had secured for Banting a modest teaching gig so he could have a salary. Then, in December, a fourth scientist joined the team — James Collip, an Alberta biochemist who was on sabbatical and happened to be in the city, working at the Toronto General Hospital. It was a crucial turning point.

Collip had developed a strong track record in blood chemistry. He'd heard about Banting and Best's project, and offered his assistance. Macleod finally agreed to bring him on board so he could apply his skills as a chemist to creating a viable version of the pancreatic extract that was both pure and potent enough to reverse diabetic symptoms.

There had been another highly important development that fall. Banting and Best had spent one afternoon conducting experiments at the Connaught Antitoxin Laboratory, a U of T spinoff located on a sprawling farm north of Toronto. Founded in 1914 by public health physician John FitzGerald with five hundred dollars in private funding in a basement lab at U of T, Connaught scaled up in 1917, emerging as a nonprofit industrial operation geared at producing vaccines for infectious diseases like diphtheria and, later, polio. FitzGerald's

idea was to model the antitoxin lab on France's Pasteur Institute. By 1921, Banting and FitzGerald were friends. FitzGerald suggested that he and Best come up to Connaught's farm site to try to produce a version of the extract using calf pancreas — another critical inflection point.

Through late fall 1921 and into January 1922, the results using extracts from beef pancreas (sourced in local slaughterhouses) that had been subjected to increasingly exacting purification techniques yielded ever-improving results on the test animals. Collip applied his chemistry expertise to developing even more refined versions, and Macleod became much more involved in the project. Soon, Banting began to worry that he might be elbowed aside by the more experienced scientists, even as he finalized the first paper to be published about the group's findings. "Macleod had become the quarterback of the team," Bliss observed. "Collip seemed to be doing all the running with the ball." With the prospect of clinical trials on humans now plausible, Banting wanted to make sure he, and not Collip, would be in charge and then badgered Macleod to allow one of them to proceed.

Today's heavily regulated pharmaceutical industry spends billions of dollars bringing drugs to market — an R&D odyssey that involves in-depth lab and animal testing and then extensive human clinical trials with hundreds and even thousands of carefully screened participants, multiple principal investigators, publication mandates, randomized control tests, and exhaustive regulatory scrutiny.

Most of that infrastructure didn't exist in 1922 when Banting and Macleod began planning to test their extract on diabetics. The pharmaceutical industry, as such, was in its adolescence, although firms with now-familiar names — Eli Lilly, Wellcome, and Bayer — were operating. Many drugstore medications came from chemists or snake-oil salesmen. There were few controls on production, safety, or marketing claims, and state regulation was a decade off. Remarkably, Banting and Best often tested the toxicity of their own extracts by trying them on one another.

Through another U of T professor, Macleod arranged that the first human subject was an emaciated, nearly comatose fourteen-year-old boy, Leonard Thompson, then a patient on the Toronto General Hospital's diabetes ward. Thompson's father, in desperation, gave his permission to allow the team to test the extract on his son on January 11. Though Leonard's blood sugar dropped somewhat, he showed little signs of improvement — confirmation, as Bliss noted, that this move had been premature, especially in light of the fact that an enterprising *Toronto Star* reporter heard about the trial and wrote it up. Macleod worried that such coverage would raise expectations among desperate patients and their families before the extract had proven itself.

A few weeks later, they tried again, this time with a purer extract that Collip, the more experienced biochemist, had prepared in his lab. Thompson promptly showed signs of recovery: His blood and urine sugar levels dropped, his energy returned and he began to gain weight. From that moment on, Thompson had to take daily insulin injections in order to survive. (In fact, he lived a relatively normal life for another thirteen years before dying of pneumonia brought on by influenza.)

Away from Thompson's bedside, however, simmering tensions between Banting, Collip, and Macleod had come to a head. At issue were the twin questions of production and ownership. If they wanted to administer this new elixir to human beings, they'd need to be able to replicate the recipe and then to guarantee a steady supply that was potent, pure, and standardized in its composition. Banting also suspected that Collip might be angling to secure a patent on the extract. (Collip eventually left the project and returned to Alberta.)

Connaught, Banting reckoned, could solve their problem, and he worked his networks to engage FitzGerald's team. Just days after Leonard Thompson received the second and more successful injections, the four scientists and Connaught signed an agreement of "cooperation" that effectively prevented any of the individuals from claiming intellectual property rights in the extract while also securing a venue where they could produce a consistent insulin supply.

Through the winter and the spring of 1922, a number of other diabetic patients at Toronto General Hospital received injections. Some patients who seemed beyond hope reacted extraordinarily well to the insulin, in several cases emerging from diabetic comas that prompted witnesses to characterize their recoveries as "resurrections." But the rollout was plagued by what Rutty referred to as periodic insulin "famines" due to inconsistent production at the Connaught lab — a dynamic that inflamed tensions and forced Best to take a more active role in monitoring the lab work.

Meanwhile, word of the discovery was starting to spread in both the popular press, which frequently ran credulous coverage of new miracle cures, and academic circles. Banting and Best published preliminary findings in the C*anadian Medical Association Journal*, and Macleod lectured at an academic conference in the United States. At one such gathering, an executive of Eli Lilly & Co., the Indianapolis pharmaceutical manufacturer, offered to help to produce the extract at cost.

News of the discovery got a major boost after word got out that Banting had successfully treated Elizabeth Hughes, the teenaged daughter of the U.S. secretary of state. As pleas from other families of desperately ill patients rolled in, the four scientists and U of T officials realized that they needed to pay attention to the intellectual property being created. Banting, Bliss observed, continued to suspect Macleod's motives but was also wary of putting his name on a potential patent — something doctors did not do at the time in order to avoid conflicts of interest. Universities also looked askance at tying up intellectual property. "The decision to patent insulin was by no means self-evident for the [U of T] discoverers," wrote Maurice Cassier and Christiane Sinding in a 2008 article in *History and Technology*, a Routledge journal. "Patenting a medical discovery clashed with the university's norms, which proscribed the privatization of the results of academic science."

Macleod, however, began searching for a more public-spirited way of securing the rights to insulin. He knew of an

LEFT: INSULIN LIBRARY.UTORONTO/P10037. RIGHT: INSULIN LIBRARY.UTORONTO/P10139

A diabetic woman uses a glucometer to test her blood sugar level. A century after its discovery, insulin remains the primary treatment for diabetes worldwide.

approach devised a few years earlier by the University of Minnesota and the Mayo Clinic, which together had secured patent rights to a thyroid hormone as a means of ensuring that the licensees used consistent production processes and didn't run up the prices, according to Cassier and Sindling.

On May 30, 1922, the U of T consummated a production agreement with Eli Lilly and also took steps to ensure that the firm would not try to legally and commercially exploit slight refinements of the extract developed in its own labs.

A similar arrangement with the United Kingdom-based Medical Research Council soon followed. Indeed, as demand for the extract widened, the U of T's newly established "insulin committee" set to work finding other international academic partners willing to establish local production deals in order to increase access to the extract. By the end of 1922, Best, Banting, and Collip assigned their United States and Canadian patent rights to the U of T for the nominal fee of one dollar — a remarkably altruistic gesture that would be almost unimaginable in today's profit-driven drug-discovery world. Royalties, in turn, flowed to Connaught and paved the way for its evolution into a major player in Canada's emerging pharmaceutical sector. Another landmark drug, the anti-coagulant heparin, also came out of Connaught's labs. Connaught was eventually sold to a federal agency in 1972 and changed hands several times before becoming part of Sanofi Pasteur. Proceeds from the original sale, twenty-nine million dollars, seeded a U of T research fund that continues to dispense grants to this day. "[Macleod] flipped that patent model on its head," Rutty said. "They were very selfless about it all." Maltman added: "A hundred years later we have better insulin, but nothing better than insulin."

The fact that the centennial of the 1918–20 Spanish flu pandemic, today's COVID-19 pandemic, and the centennial of the discovery of insulin roughly coincide isn't merely a chronological nicety. The COVID-19 pandemic, according to a literature review compiled by Diabetes Canada, has revealed how type 2 diabetes is a "major co-morbidity" that exacerbates the symptoms of the coronavirus, which has had a disproportionate impact on low-income, racialized, and Indigenous communities.

Epidemiologist Seema Nagpal, Diabetes Canada's vice-president for science and policy, says the pandemic serves as a reminder that Canada needs to place a greater focus on chronic diseases as part of any future pandemic-preparedness strategy. She and others point out that one of the long-term legacies of the discovery of insulin is that Canada "can punch higher than its weight class" when it comes to diabetes research, especially research into the causes and treatment for type 2 diabetes, itself an epidemic. "The challenge," Nagpal said, "is that there's no one solution that will help attenuate type 2 the way insulin helped with type 1." Nagpal cites two notable Canadian examples: a game-changing discovery by U of T professor Daniel Drucker, who invented a way of boosting a gut hormone linked to insulin production, and which is now used worldwide, and the development at the University of Alberta of the so-called Edmonton Protocol, which sets out methods for transplanting pancreatic islets that govern insulin production in type 1 diabetes patients, allowing them to become insulin-independent.

Technologies developed elsewhere — for example, continuous glucose monitoring — have also played a huge role in improving the quality of life for people with diabetes. And there's extensive research into not only understanding the development of type 2 diabetes but also early warnings that can be detected through various forms of high-sensitivity blood tests, said Paul Yip, an associate professor of biochemistry at the U of T and a researcher at Toronto's Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre. The most recent development, he adds, is the pairing of portable glucose monitors linked electronically to wearable insulin pumps. "What you have is an artificial pancreas." Bioengineering holds out an even more dramatic outcome. If stem cell research aimed at transplanting islets of Langerhans into a diabetic patient to re-generate the pancreas works, Yip added, "that will essentially be a cure." Indeed, in November 2020, a U of A research team led by Dr. James Shapiro, who invented the Edmonton Protocol, announced that it had reversed diabetes in mice using stem cells, a development that points to a possible cure.

Back at the Banting House in London, Ontario, Grant Maltman has watched as visitors from all over the world enter the bedroom where the famous Canadian inventor jotted down his middle-of-the-night idea a hundred years ago. Many are diabetics who have come to pay homage. Others are scientists and medical researchers, there to touch the bed frame in reverence — and, possibly, to try to tap in to whatever inspired Banting so many years ago. "Almost to a person," he said, "they will lean against the bed. You can see the finish is gone on the footboard" where people have touched it. And, when one of them does find the cure, the "Flame of Hope" that burns on a ceremonial pedestal just outside the house will officially be extinguished.

To learn more about the discovery and development of insulin, please visit: DefiningMomentsCanada.ca/Insulin100.

ISTOCK

This mural by Winnipegger Jason Botkin on an abandoned radar building at Churchill, Manitoba, pays tribute to the Sayisi Dene First Nation. It's part of the SeaWalls Churchill project that brought several artists to northern Manitoba.

KAITLIN VITT

Colourful northern history

Huge new murals add to the belugas, polar bears, and aurora borealis seen in and around Churchill, Manitoba. *by Kaitlin Vitt*

As I look out from the coast of Hudson Bay in Churchill, Manitoba, on a warm July morning, gulls call out and fly above me while dozens of beluga whales come near to shore to feed on the spawning caplin. The whales' bodies gently roll with the waves as they exhale, puffs of water shooting up before each takes a breath and gently dives back down.

At times, I swear the belugas are looking right at me — and maybe they are. Unlike most whales, belugas have a flexible neck and are able to turn their head toward you as they swim by. But a moment like this in vast northern Manitoba is more than just a time to pause, to escape the bustle of life — it's an opportunity to reflect on how a community as small as Churchill has such a layered history.

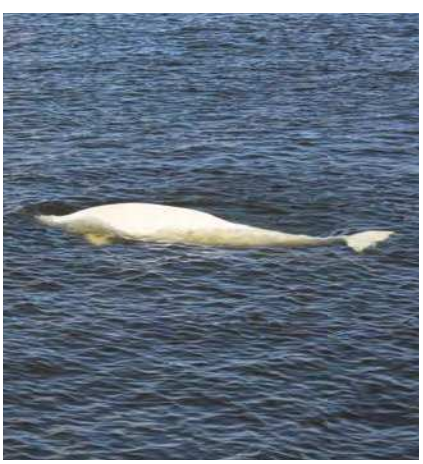
The belugas, which create a serene and picturesque scene, and other marine animals like seals and walruses provided food for pre-Dorset and Dorset people — the first to settle in the Churchill region about four thousand years ago — and, beginning about a thousand years ago, for the Thule people, ancestors of today's Inuit. People in the North relied on wildlife to survive, as Inuit still do in Canada's Arctic, using animals not only for food but also for shelter, tools, and clothing.

Traditional Inuit beliefs include a deep connection to animals and the belief that animals have souls — meaning that they should be treated with respect. Inuit legends describe animals turning into humans and vice versa. Churchill's Itsanitaq Museum shares many of these stories while displaying Inuit carvings and artifacts, some of which date back to pre-Dorset people.

You can get up close to taxidermic animals — including a polar bear, a muskox, a walrus, and a wolf — and see ancient handmade kayaks. The history of the local Indigenous peoples is packed into the one-room museum.

Trade played an important role in the lives of the Cree, Dene, and Inuit in what is now northern Manitoba. After European contact in the seventeenth century, Indigenous trading networks were used during the fur-trading era — with the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Churchill, later called Prince of Wales Fort, a hub for the fur trade.

Today Churchill is accessible only by air or by train. While a train ride from Thompson, the nearest Manitoba city, takes at least sixteen hours, the journey through a changing landscape of marshland, the



boreal forest, and, eventually, tundra is worth the time.

In 2017, spring floods washed out the rail line, further isolating the town. It was a year before the line was fixed and the train was running again.

Also in 2017, Winnipeg-based artist Kal Barteski organized SeaWalls Churchill to promote ocean conservation and awareness of the community and to bring hope to its residents. The initiative — part of the PangeaSeed Foundation's Sea Walls: Artists for Oceans program that includes work in fifteen countries — brought together more than a dozen artists to paint murals on buildings in and near the town. One of them painted a crashed cargo plane.

Visitors should make the effort to check out these murals, many of which invite people to learn about the community's rich history. For example, about sixteen kilometres from town, an abandoned radar station stands near a former rocket range, which closed in 1985 and in 1988 was named a National Historic Site. Abandoned since the 1970s, the radar building today bears a colourful mural, by Jason Botkin, that shows caribou antlers and a person holding out their hands in prayer.

The image pays tribute to the Sayisi Dene First Nation, a community the Canadian government forced to relocate to Churchill from Little Duck Lake, Manitoba, in 1956 after incorrectly assuming that the First Nation was negatively impacting caribou populations.

Many of the murals portray Arctic wildlife — as one might expect, since there is plenty of wildlife to see. For instance, from about June to September thousands of belugas, or "canaries of the sea" — nicknamed for the many vocalizations they make below the water surface — make their way to the area to feed and to give birth in the Churchill River and Hudson Bay. Polar bears stop by mid-July when the Hudson Bay ice melts, and they stay ashore until the ice starts to form again around November. One of the largest known polar bear maternity denning areas is within nearby Wapusk National Park.

Days after returning from Churchill, I found myself checking over my shoulder to see if a polar bear was following, or charging, behind me — and I hadn't even seen one during my trip. It's always best

TOP: KAITLIN VITT. CENTRE LEFT: ALAMY. BOTTOM LEFT: KAITLIN VITT

Above: As part of Seawalls Churchill, Michigan artist Pat Perry painted the cargo plane *Miss Piggy* that crashed in 1979 near Churchill, Manitoba. Its name recognizes the fact that freight planes were often overloaded.

Centre left: Prince of Wales Fort is a National Historic Site across the Churchill River from the town of Churchill, Manitoba. Parks Canada offers tours of the former Hudson's Bay Company fortress in July and August.

Bottom left: One of thousands of belugas that make their way to Hudson Bay and the Churchill River each year from about June to September to feed and to give birth.

TOP RIGHT: RICHARD SECK. BOTTOM LEFT: COURTESY NATIONAL TRUST FOR CANADA. BOTTOM RIGHT: COURTESY NATIONAL TRUST FOR CANADA.

to be bear aware, which is why it's recommended that travellers book tours with a local guide instead of attempting to see Churchill's sights on their own.

Rounding out the top reasons to go to Churchill is the aurora borealis, or northern lights. For the best chance of seeing the belugas, polars bears, and northern lights, plan your trip for late August through early September. But don't be disappointed if you don't see absolutely everything on your first visit — that just means there's even more reason to go back.

Top: Montgomery's Inn Museum, Toronto. Above left: Mississippi Valley Textile Museum, Almonte, Ontario. Above right: Gur Sikh Temple National Historic Site, Abbotsford, B.C.

HISTORIC PLACES

The National Trust for Canada has honoured a number of heritage sites across the country with its Ecclesiastical Insurance Cornerstone Awards. Presented in two categories – Transformative Projects and Resilient Historic Places – they identify exemplary projects and places that illustrate the viability of heritage sites and buildings for new and traditional uses.

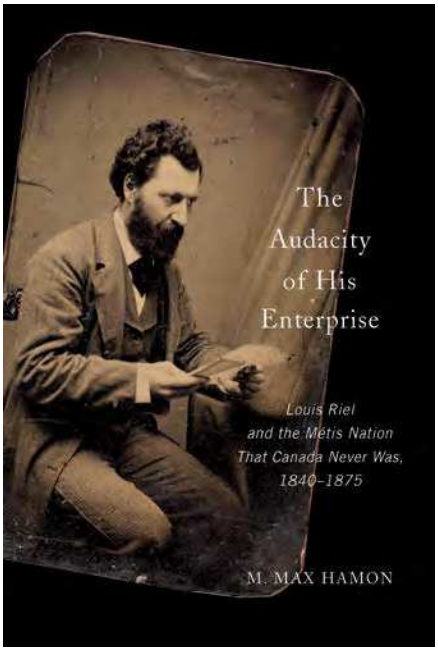
Projects involving well-known structures – such as the restoration of Vancouver's 1932 art deco Burrard Bridge and the transformation of Ottawa's former central train station into the interim Senate of Canada Building – are recognized along with lesser-known locations such as the Garrick Theatre in Bonavista, N.L., the Shingwauk Residential School Site in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and B2 Lofts in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.

The restoration of Montgomery's Inn Museum in the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke involved the adaptation of a historic building during a staged project that allowed the museum to continue its operations and to explain the restoration work during visitor tours. With improved accessibility and flexibility, historical spaces can be adjusted for uses such as a farmers market or other gatherings.

At the Gur Sikh Temple National Historic Site in Abbotsford, B.C., the ground floor was converted into the Sikh Heritage Museum. Public exhibits and tours documenting the history of Sikhs in Canada take place in the early 1900s structure that remains a place for worship and prayer.

The Mississippi Valley Textile Museum – a National Historic Site in Almonte, Ontario – is located in the annex of the 1837 Rosamond Woolen Company building and combines industrial displays with events that showcase the area's heritage and culture as well as the role of the textile industry in its development. A part of the community for more than thirty-five years, it was recognized for its resilience and its continuing evolution to meet the needs of visitors.

To learn about all the winners, visit nationaltrustcanada.ca/awards.



BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS

The Audacity of His Enterprise: Louis Riel and the Métis Nation That Canada Never Was, 1840–1875

by Max Hamon
McGill-Queen's University Press,
432 pages, $39.95

This is the most insightful biography of Louis Riel to date. Finally we have a biography that actually seeks to explore parts of Riel's life in a way that is inquisitive and that provokes reflection. Compared to some earlier efforts, it's a welcome relief.

The story Hamon weaves is thematic — family, education, political culture, and networking — not chronological. In the first part of the book, Hamon delves deeply into the first of his four themes. In his examination of family, Hamon looks at the layered concept of *wahkohtowin*, which means the act of being related but also includes the relationships with other living beings and the obligations to uphold those relationships. Hamon's exploration of the Métis Nation concept of family captures most of this, which is a first in the canon of Riel biographies.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is his exploration of Riel's education in Montreal. This is new biographic material on Riel. As Hamon notes, this is "one of the most misunderstood periods" of Riel's life. And it is here that I must provide my disclaimer. In the course of his research, Hamon contacted me (as the great-grandniece of Louis Riel) to ask what I knew about Riel's schooling in Montreal. Despite his kind mention in the acknowledgments, I had nothing to offer on this time of Riel's life. Indeed, this chapter was an eye-opener for me.

Hamon does not dismiss Riel's education as "antiquated and isolating," which is what other biographers have done, and he refutes the idea that Riel "failed" to become a priest. Hamon not only looks at Riel's individual life but sets him in the context of the curriculum and his class.

Viewing Riel in context, Hamon finds no early traces of messianic traits. Instead of finding that Riel's father's death undermined his attention at school, Hamon shows that Riel took on extra responsibilities after his father died. We learn that Riel's cohort was trained in the militia. Hamon also provides useful context for Riel's departure prior to graduation, when he reveals that the majority of Riel's cohort did not complete their final year. So his departure prior to graduation was normal, not a failure. In fact, Riel's education trained him to be an extraordinary public speaker and a political activist, and it was in his school years in Montreal that he made the connections that would serve him well in his future years.

The other eye-opener in Hamon's biography is his examination of Riel's extensive networking, particularly during the critical period of 1872–74. Where other biographers have seen only erratic and aimless movement in exile, Hamon reveals that Riel was nurturing his network of contacts. There was agency in Riel's employment of his political and social networks. This was his power base, and he used it to place the Métis facts before Canadian politicians and the public.

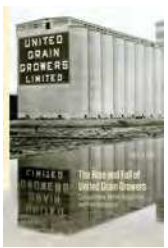
Riel is arguably one of the most famous men in Canadian history, but he is also poorly understood. Hamon has added an array of useful analysis and information to the Riel canon. The book is well-researched with new material, and it is well worth the read.

Reviewed by **Jean Teillet**, an Indigenous-rights lawyer, the author of *Métis Law in Canada* and *The North-West is Our Mother: The Story of Louis Riel's People, the Métis Nation*, and the great-grandniece of Louis Riel.

FARMER-CONTROLLED COMPANY

The Rise and Fall of United Grain Growers: Cooperatives, Market Regulation, and Free Enterprise

by Paul D. Earl
University of Manitoba Press,
363 pages, $27.95



In *The Rise and Fall of United Grain Growers*, Paul D. Earl traces the history of the Winnipeg-based co-operative grain marketing company from its origins in 1906 to its fall in a corporate takeover a hundred years later. The book's structure is comprised of three parts representing the company's birth and growth, its maturity and decline, and its later demise.

Earl's book began as a commissioned company history, but the dis-

appearance of United Grain Growers (UGG) shifted his focus to such issues as how shareholder rights and corporate governance played in to its end. The last section, discussing the circumstances of the company's fall to a corporate takeover in 2007 by the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool (since renamed Viterra), comprises nearly half of the text.

The United Grain Growers became a major force in grain marketing in the first half of the twentieth century. Beginning as the Grain Growers' Grain Company (GGGC), established by Edward A. Partridge and other farmers at Sintaluta, Saskatchewan, it was the first farmer-owned grain-marketing business in Western Canada.

Partridge was a strong proponent of government control over grain marketing, although provincial governments balked at his proposals for socially controlled grain elevators. As a result, the wheat pools and the GGGC (which became UGG after its 1917 merger with the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company) were always obliged to compete with private grain companies on the open market and remained subject to numerous internal and external economic forces that bore upon their viability.

Following initial conflicts over its direction, UGG prospered under Thomas Crerar, the first of a series of talented leaders who shepherded the company through its rapid expansion. By the First World War it was sustained by a healthy membership of about sixteen thousand producer-shareholders who were organized in a network of local associations supporting the company's goals and activities.

Throughout its history, United Grain Growers navigated the vagaries of grain marketing amidst constantly changing situations. These included the need to represent the interests of farmers but also the necessity of remaining profitable while maintaining its aging infrastructure. Where modernizers such as Mac Runciman, UGG president from 1961 to 1981, sought to rationalize its elevator system, the company's members pushed back. They pressed for the retention of country elevators, a source of tax revenues that were critical to their communities' survival. The consolidation of elevators eventually took place, but the drawn-out process was a drag on UGG's returns.

Meanwhile, the company was hampered by the failure of the federal government to develop a comprehensive policy to modernize the transportation system, something further complicated by resistance to changes to the long-standing Crow rate — a mandated price that made grain haulage by the railways uneconomical. Pressure was also exerted by non-farming shareholders seeking higher returns; they ultimately prevailed over a dwindling percentage of farmer-shareholders.

Earl's detailing of these and other challenges to UGG over successive eras is well developed. In the latter part of the book he seeks to explain the 2007 takeover through the lenses of legal and business rationales, and he elaborates arguments both for and against the sale of Agricore United (the company's name following a 2001 merger). In a thoughtful discussion, the author considers the role of ideologies in driving the perspectives of opposing parties; but he declines to take a definitive position, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions.

The book largely omits consideration of the implications of the federal government's failure in recent decades to maintain a regulatory regime for the grain trade that was strong enough to protect the interests of both prairie farmers and the country in the context of globalization. These implications include the yielding of Canadian sovereignty through a succession of mergers and sales to foreign interests, unintended consequences of deregulation, and the continued vulnerability of prairie farmers under the international price system.

Reviewed by **Lyle Dick**, senior advisor of Know History Inc. and a former president of the Canadian Historical Association.

HOUSEHOLD MANNERS

Master and Servants: The Hudson's Bay Company and Its North American Workforce, 1668–1786

by Scott P. Stephen
University of Alberta Press,
448 pages, $27.95

In *Masters and Servants*, Parks Canada historian Scott Stephen examines how the Hudson's Bay Company constructed its labour force during the firm's "long first century," when the HBC largely consisted of a handful of modest bayside posts on the eastern rim of the vast area known as Rupert's Land that had been granted to the company as its exclusive trading domain.

In its early decades, the HBC took its servants where it could find them, and recruitment remained improvisational even after the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht between Britain and France had initiated a period of relative stability. HBC eventually found a reliable supply of able (and cheap) labour in the Orkney Islands, the last port of call before company ships crossed the Atlantic. Standard five-year contracts with a sliding salary became the norm. The hiring of French Canadians was generally avoided, while Charles Price Isham was a rare case of the son of an HBC employee and an Indigenous mother who had a significant career in the firm.

HBC posts were really an extension of early modern Britain, Stephen argues, and are best understood as microcosms of that strictly hierarchical society. On Hudson Bay, as in Britain, the dominant mode of economic and social organization was the household, which bonded all of its members under a patriarchal and paternalistic regime of masters and servants. This thesis is especially convincing when we compare the trading posts to larger British estates. One can easily substitute the HBC committee for the estate owner, the

post factor for the estate steward, and the labourers for the body of servants.

Stephen is a master of the vast documentary resources found in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, and he makes rich use of this material to make his point. What is especially striking is how evaluations of workers were usually based on their attitudes and behaviours, rather than on any tangible skills. Labourers were described as good, sober, faithful, diligent, able, and useful on the one hand, or lazy, dissolute, profane, troublesome, or disobedient on the other. This reflects the fact that the master-servant relationship was based primarily on a personal bond of trust, what Stephen terms "social and moral covenants." While correspondence was couched in ritualized, deferential terms — "your honours most faithful servant" was a typical send-off — this ostentatious diction could mask true attitudes and mediate stronger emotions.

The two greatest threats to the HBC household model were private trade and relationships with Indigenous women, both of which tended to place the individual labourer outside the community and which were officially banned for most of this period. Interestingly, factors were generally exempt from the latter restriction, since the Cree expected that trading relationships would be confirmed through the establishment of kin connections.

Stephen preserves the original spelling and punctuation of HBC documents, which brings us one step closer to the workers of the Bay, but we still remain distant from the actual lived experiences of these men. Despite the sheer volume of records, HBC's labourers left little in the way of personal testimony, and their lives are refracted through official correspondence and reports. Stephen includes a few evocative images created by some workers — paintings on boards found at York Factory and graffiti carved on the rocks at Sloop's Cove near Fort Prince of Wales, both in what is now northern Manitoba — but the inner lives of these workers are stubbornly beyond our grasp.

Stephen wisely concludes his study with HBC's establishment of its first inland department. The nature of the firm changed as the company moved into the interior, with the emerging need for bush skills such as canoe building, the expansion of trade, a deeper engagement with the Indigenous inhabitants of the land, and the HBC facing its Montreal-based competitors from the North West Company.

Reviewed by **Bill Moreau**, a Toronto teacher and writer and the editor of the three-volume *Writings of David Thompson*.

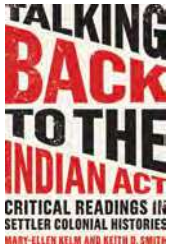
MINDING THE GAP

21 Things You May Not Know about the Indian Act: Helping Canadians Make Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples a Reality

by Bob Joseph
Indigenous Relations Press,
199 pages, $19.95

Talking Back to the Indian Act: Critical Readings in Settler Colonial Histories

by Mary-Ellen Kelm and Keith D. Smith
University of Toronto Press,
230 pages, $31.95



It is fair to assume that everyday Canadians know little about the 1876 *Indian Act* and that stereotypes and mistruths guide public opinion and kitchen-table discourse. Despite amendments, notably in 1951 and 1985, the *Indian Act* still determines who is an "Indian," dictates the rules of on-reserve governance, and is the pipeline for chronically underfunded band-controlled school systems.

The first step towards reconciliation is dispelling errors by filling the gaps in our knowledge that have been left by our history education. Bob Joseph's *21 Things You May Not Know about the Indian Act* and Mary-Ellen Kelm and Keith D. Smith's *Talking Back to the Indian Act* offer Canadians readable overviews of the meat and potatoes of the act. Joseph approaches the task using a conversational tone, highlighting twenty-one restrictions imposed at some point by the *Indian Act* in its 144 years of existence, while Kelm and Smith provide a critical-thinking framework to analyze a collection of historical extracts pulled from or related to the *Indian Act*.

21 Things You May Not Know about the Indian Act is subtitled *Helping Canadians Make Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples a Reality* and is optimistic in the least trite of ways. Joseph, founder and president of Indigenous Corporate Training and a member of the Gwawaenuk Nation in British Columbia, has trained thousands of people with the aim of building Indigenous relations, and the tone of his book shows this.

Without sidestepping, he teaches how the *Indian Act* disrespected and undermined the roles of Indigenous women: "The dissolution of women's stature, coupled with the abuses of the residential school system, has been a significant contributor to the vulnerability of Indigenous women." And he shows how it led to the creation of reserves where "Indigenous people were forced into European-style homes that were inappropriate for the traditional concept of family and often inappropriate for the climate."

Leading the reader through just over one hundred pages, Joseph peels back the layers of the *Indian Act* in seven chapters with titles like "Resistance is Futile," "Tightening Control," and "Looking Forward to a Better Canada." His book is honest, sanguine, practical, and — maybe

most important — easily shared.

He tackles the often-asked question, why don't we just scrap the *Indian Act*? by pointing out that it is the one piece of federal legislation that makes clear the obligations the Canadian government bears towards First Nations peoples.

Bookended with an overview of the act plus appendices that include the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's ninety-four calls to action, *21 Things You May Not Know About the Indian Act* is a heartfelt guide for reconciliation. Joseph leaves the reader with the thought that "the *Indian Act* was designed for a specific purpose that no longer exists in a country committed to reconciliation."

Talking Back to the Indian Act begins by imbuing the reader with a sense of action: "As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) taught us, history tells us a great deal about the truths with which we live today. In order to answer fully the TRC's 94 Calls to Action, we must better understand Canada's historical relationship with Indigenous peoples."

Using the five Cs of historical thinking — changes over time, context, causality, contingency, and complexity — along with a clear metric of Indigenous methodology, Kelm and Smith remind us that the *Indian Act* "remains surprisingly understudied, resistant to substantial revision, and largely unknown to non-Indigenous Canadians."

After laying a pedagogical base, the authors unpack the act thematically, using governance, enfranchisement, gender, and land as entry points. Guided by introductory backgrounders by Kelm and Smith, and led through selected historical documents, the reader gets a first-hand glimpse into the minds of the parliamentarians responsible for drafting the *Indian Act* and the successive administrations that amended and implemented it.

The 1876 words of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs David Laird act as both a window and a mirror: "Our Indian legislation generally rests on the principle that the aboriginal peoples are to be kept in a condition of tutelage and treated as wards or children of the State."

Kelm, Canada Research Chair and history professor at Simon Fraser University, and Smith, chair of the Department of First Nations Studies at the Vancouver Island University in Nanaimo, B.C., duly include First People's voices in the book. In a letter to Prime Minister John A. Macdonald in 1879, the Ohsweken Council, representing three hundred chiefs and warriors of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, wrote: "We believe that the Act in question will in time deprive us of our liberties, rights, and privileges which we now enjoy under the Treaty between Great Britain and the Six Nations Indians, and we have no wish other than faithfully adhering to the Treaty…."

Written in the first person, interwoven with the professional parlance of history educators, fortified with primary-source evidence, and shored up with inquiry questions, maps, and a timeline, *Talking Back to the Indian Act* is not an unwieldy academic tome; rather, it speaks to all Canadians. With a bit of a nudge, it would be as comfortable on a coffee table as it would be in a course syllabus.

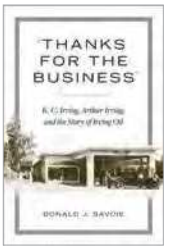
Like the London Underground's caution to commuters to be wary of the gap between the train door and the station platform, these books remind Canadians that we are all products of our history education and have been left with a definable gap in our knowledge about the *Indian Act* and its long-term effects on Indigenous people. Both books seek to lessen that chasm while offering us a cue to mind the gap.

Reviewed by **Connie Wyatt Anderson**, a Governor General's History Award-winning teacher and a co-author of the required grade eleven Canadian history text used in Manitoba schools. She is from The Pas, Manitoba, and is lead of the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba's education pillar.

FAMILY EMPIRE

"Thanks for the Business": K.C. Irving, Arthur Irving and the Story of Irving Oil

by Donald J. Savoie
Nimbus Publishing,
352 pages, $29.95



Donald Savoie is Canada's leading expert on public administration. His sharp, unflinching analysis, particularly of the centralization of decision making in the Prime Minister's Office, has shaped two decades of debate about political power. So it is perplexing to see him act the starstruck fan in his biographies of Maritime tycoons, including in *"Thanks for the Business": K.C. Irving, Arthur Irving, and the Story of Irving Oil*. This self-described "celebration" of the billionaires steers clear of their controversies and brims with platitudes. We are reminded dozens of times how the Irvings work hard and put customers first.

What distinguishes Savoie's book from other recent studies of the Irvings is his access to Arthur Irving, the ninety-year-old second son of empire-building tycoon K.C. Irving. Savoie is upfront about his lack of objectivity: The book, he tells us, was the brainchild of Arthur's wife, Sandra, whom the author describes as "a very special friend." It includes photos of the author and the book's subject enjoying travels together in Boston and in Scotland.

New Brunswick has plenty of Irving cheerleaders, and with his stellar credentials Savoie is a credible one. He argues that Maritimers must rely on entrepreneurs, not governments, for economic growth. Fair enough, but his case for Irving is selective. Arthur's earnest, down-to-earth fondness for his employees is invoked repeatedly, but the bruising, two-year-long strike at the Irving Oil refinery a quarter century ago isn't mentioned once. Savoie defends Irving's offshore tax arrangements while admitting that he

lacks the tax expertise to say whether the company pays its fair share. On climate change, Canada's leading public-policy expert quotes the owner of Canada's largest oil refinery as saying, "We want to be part of the solution"; but he is silent on Irving Oil dropping its goal of reducing emissions by seventeen per cent, as reported by Reuters in 2019.

Savoie covers climate change in six pages, half the space he devotes to lamenting the long-dead Chignecto Canal proposal championed by K.C. Irving. (The canal would have crossed the isthmus between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, creating a shortcut for freighters like those used by Irving Oil.) Savoie blames Ottawa's indifference to Atlantic Canada, drawing a parallel to the cancelled Energy East pipeline that would have carried Alberta crude to Saint John, New Brunswick. That comparison is a stretch, and Savoie wrongly asserts that Irving's refinery would have replaced Saudi oil with Canadian product. He ignores Irving Oil CEO Ian Whitcomb's 2016 acknowledgement to the *National Post* that the company would refine Alberta oil "as the economics dictate, but probably not at the expense of our Saudi barrels."

There is another omission. More than a decade ago, Arthur's son Kenneth, as CEO of Irving Oil, was nudging it toward greener energy sources such as tidal power. The *Globe and Mail* later reported that Arthur would not "get out of the way" and let Kenneth run the company; sometimes father berated son in front of senior executives, showing "disdain" for his approach. Kenneth Irving subsequently left Irving Oil in 2010.

Given that a principal thread in the book is how Arthur learned his business ethos from his own father, Savoie's refusal to probe the billionaire's rupture with his own son is glaring. Likewise, he does not explore what direction Arthur's new heir apparent, daughter Sarah, might take, nor the complex and contentious dividing up of the Irving conglomerate between Arthur and his brothers. These bonds, or their fractures, can affect an entire province's economy. Yet during all the time he spent with Arthur Irving, Savoie writes, he "did not ask any questions about his family or his relationships with members of the other Irving families." And that's a shame.

Reviewed by **Jacques Poitras**, the author of *Irving vs. Irving: Canada's Feuding Billionaires and the Stories They Won't Tell* and *Pipe Dreams: The Fight for Canada's Energy Future*.

MORE BOOKS

Passion and Persistence: Fifty Years of the Sierra Club in British Columbia
by Diane Pinch
Harbour Publishing, 352 pages, $36.95

Founded in 1892, the Sierra Club is one of the oldest conservation groups in the United States. Its work in supporting and lobbying for regulations and legislation has helped to shape modern protected spaces across that country. In 1969, inspired by the breadth and depth of programs south of the border, a group of British Columbians opened a chapter of the club that focuses on preserving and protecting the wilderness and wildlife of their province.

A recent book documents the club's history and details the many initiatives with which it has been involved. Written by Diane Pinch, a retired psychologist and long-time volunteer for Sierra Club BC, *Passion and Persistence* takes readers into the heart of an organization that has been profoundly influential in Western Canada.

Pinch shares the group's work through the words of its activists. Her book contains excerpts from more than thirty interviews she conducted with the club's founders, employees, and volunteers. They help to colour the narrative and provide valuable insight regarding different movements in which the club has participated — from fighting for the protection of wild and marine spaces to its advocacy regarding the impacts of climate change.

When Pinch reminds readers that Sierra Club BC will need "to draw deep upon its heritage of persevering despite setbacks, and on the knowledge that every two steps forward is followed by one step back," her statement is not meant to be pessimistic. Rather, she means to show the strength of the organization and to emphasize that it has won some hard-fought battles after years of dedication and perseverance.
— *Brooke Campbell*

Finding Fortune: Documenting and Imagining the Life of Rose Fortune (1774–1864)
by Brenda J. Thompson
SSP Publications, 132 pages, $15.95

In *Finding Fortune*, author Brenda J. Thompson writes that "Rose heard the stories about herself [that] she would neither confirm nor deny. She let the legend take on a life of its own."

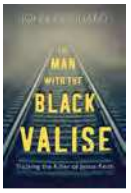
More than thirty years of writing experience and anti-poverty activism orient Thompson's compassionate and commemorative take on Rose Fortune's life and identity as an African-Nova Scotian from 1774 to 1864. But it's Thompson's "fascination with the historical sociology of those who were not considered important under the status quo" that backlights her imagining of the historical personality.

From Fortune's beginnings as the daughter of fugitive slaves, to her being the first black woman to become an unofficial police officer, to her legacy as a beacon of inspiration for her thousands of descendants, Fortune's fortitude is characterized by Thompson as central both to her story and to her impact for others.

Bolstered by genealogical research, DNA evidence, and first-hand testimonies, *Finding Fortune* is

a personal, semi-biographical book that traverses the past and the present. With her examination of slavery amid broader systemic racism and poverty, Thompson positions *Finding Fortune* not only as a voice for Rose Fortune but as a means of championing the other "stories not recorded in our history books." — *Kylie Nicolajsen*

The Man with the Black Valise: Tracking the Killer of Jessie Keith
by John Goddard
Dundurn Press, 252 pages, $22.99



The Man with the Black Valise could best be described as two halves of an unusual whole. The first half is a sensational police procedural set in 1894, centring on the murder of thirteen-year-old Jessie Keith. The brutality of Keith's murder was such that locals were convinced that the notorious British killer Jack the Ripper was hunting in rural Canada.

With dogged determination, Detective John Wilson Murray was able to capture Keith's killer despite having only a modest clue to follow: a black valise. Fans of the television show *Murdoch Mysteries* will be interested to know that the detective working Keith's case served as the inspiration for the fictional TV detective William Murdoch.

The second half of the book is a historical tour highlighting places of interest that you would find if you were to trace the steps of this nineteenth-century murder mystery. Picturesque scenery, loving memorials, knowledgeable heritage interpreters, and quirky community events (a swan parade, anyone?) set the scene for this sad and sordid story.

While John Goddard's book includes conventional elements like a bibliography, images, and an index, I suspect that those who enjoy mysteries will appreciate the unconventional nature of this volume. — *Tanja Hütter*

LAND OF COLOUR George Paginton arrived in Canada in 1912 at the age of eleven as one of the British home children, and he moved to Toronto at the age of eighteen. Employment in the 1920s as a commercial artist led him to the Ontario College of Art summer school program, where he developed his love of painting *en plein air* (outdoors). Paginton worked for the *Toronto Daily Star* art department from 1927 to 1970, during which time he travelled the country painting landscapes and urban scenes. The top image, *Yellow Cloud* (oil on canvas board, 29 x 35.5 cm), was painted circa 1948 in Central Canada – possibly near his Etobicoke home on the shore of Lake Ontario – while the lower image, *Barkerville* (oil and watercolour on canvas board, 40.5 x 50.5 cm), was painted circa 1964, after Paginton had travelled to British Columbia on a newspaper assignment. *George Paginton: Painting A Nation*, by Sharona Adamowicz-Clements and Darrin J. Martens (Figure 1 Publishing, 160 pages, $40), contains dozens more full-colour images.

COURTESY FIGURE 1 PUBLISHING INC. IMAGES EXCERPTED WITH PERMISSION FROM THE PUBLISHER

Boom & Bust:
The Resilient Women of Historic Telegraph Cove
by Jennifer L. Butler
Touchwood Editions, 288 pages, $26

In 1911, Mame and Duke Wastell purchased what they named Telegraph Cove on northern Vancouver Island in British Columbia. They were the great-grandparents of Jennifer Butler, the author of *Boom & Bust: The Resilient Women of Historic Telegraph Cove*. Butler's grandparents and parents lived and worked in the community, and it was there that she spent her childhood summer vacations.

Although the men of the area received attention for their work in establishing the community, the women generally did not. As the author notes, her book "aims to help redress the balance." At its peak Telegraph Cove had a population of sixty people. Butler interviewed many mothers, daughters, and granddaughters and asked them to tell their families' collective memories of living in an isolated community.

The women's stories are both poignant and humorous. Many of them raised their families and also worked outside the home. We meet the post mistress, the general store shopkeeper, the schoolteachers and bookkeepers. Some of those who lived and worked at Telegraph Cove stayed until their deaths. They survived the wars, the Depression, and much social and economic change.

Some members of one generation of young ladies chose to move on after spending idyllic-sounding childhoods there. Boating, fishing, skating, and exploring the woods and the former salmon saltery filled their days. "There was always a rowboat on hand. We never had to tell anyone where we were going, we just knew we had to be home by dinner," noted Eva Vinderskov's daughters Anne Marie and Lisa.

Numerous delightful photographs — including many from Butler's grandparents — show the community's women at work and at play. These images speak volumes about the strength and courage of the resilient women of Telegraph Cove. — *Beverley Tallon*

As British as the King:
Lunenburg County During the First World War
by Gerald Hallowell
Nimbus Publishing, 256 pages, $21.95

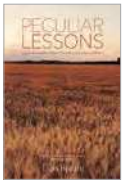
The title of Gerald Hallowell's book is quite clever, given the subject matter. When the First World War broke out in 1914, residents of the fishing village of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, were looked upon with suspicion due to their Germanic descent.

With many settler Nova Scotians at the time being maybe only a generation or two removed from Great Britain (the province's population largely consisted of immigrants from Scotland, Ireland, and England) questions were raised about Lunenburg's loyalty to "King and Country." Lunenburgers retorted that they were "as British as King George V himself." The British Royal family — today known as the "Windsors" — were actually German, of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

Hallowell's book is a fine addition to the growing library of First World War community histories that has flourished since the one hundredth anniversary of that 1914–18 conflict.

As British as the King offers a unique and interesting viewpoint of a community that felt the need to prove its patriotism due to the ancestry of its people. Much like Berlin, Ontario, which quickly renamed itself Kitchener due to anti-German sentiment, Lunenburg also faced unfair scrutiny from the dominant British-stock majority. Hallowell's book is a fascinating look at an immigrant community swept up by the tides of war. — *M.C. Reid*

Peculiar Lessons:
How Nature and the Material World Shaped a Prairie Childhood
by Lois Braun
Great Plains Publications,
224 pages, $24.95



Peculiar Lessons is the kind of book to read at leisure and to absorb slowly. Lois Braun's meditation on the things that formed her world as a child growing up on the rural prairies begins, like the land itself, as somewhat flat. I had to settle in to the rhythm of the writing to appreciate the author's exploration of seemingly ordinary things like Bible paper and transistor radios.

Most chapters begin with a memory from a free-range 1950s-era Mennonite childhood. So we have the unlikely image of a young girl in braids and ribbons wielding a mighty sledgehammer to shatter stones. (Was she wearing safety goggles?) This turns into a lesson about Manitoba's geological past as an immense glacial lake and leads to an interview with a local stone carver.

Another chapter starts with Braun's memory of being a toddler, with her feet mired in mud after a rain. Soon we are following the rainwater as it empties into ditch, creek, river, lake, and ocean. The prose flows into side streams about wearing gumboots, building rafts, skating on frozen ponds, and almost drowning in a cattle dugout.

Braun goes beyond personal reflection to weave in extended observations from artisans, designers, scientists, and others. Her book is not so much a trip down memory lane as a picnic on a patchwork quilt. There is much to digest. — *Nelle Oosterom*

CanadasHistory.ca/Books
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Q&A

The past is now digital

Historians grapple with the scale and scope of the online world.

In his recent book History in the Age of Abundance? How the Web is Transforming Historical Research, *Ian Milligan explores how the historian's practice is affected by Internet-based sources such as web pages, digitized materials, and social media.* Canada's History *director of programs Joanna Dawson spoke with the University of Waterloo associate professor about the challenges and opportunities facing historians today and in the future.*

Can you paint a picture of the world we're living in as it relates to historical research? How will a future historian studying, for example, Canada's Idle No More movement need to approach sources differently than someone studying a social movement of the 1960s?

In some respects, a historian studying a contemporary social movement in, say, ten or twenty years and a historian studying Canada's 1960s (the topic of my first book) are not going to ask terribly different questions of their sources. Historians will still ask big questions: What historical processes were unfolding? What was the context of given documents and individuals? Why were certain events happening? What elements of dramatic change or surprising continuity might we learn about?

The difference, however, comes in how we approach and make sense of the sources before us, notably web archives and other born-digital records. Web archives are preserved copies of old web pages that you might find at places such as the Internet Archive; born-digital records, more broadly, are documents that began life as a digital object — such as a tweet, a Word file, or a website. These sources are different for two main reasons: their scale and their scope.

By scale, I refer to their sheer size: The Internet Archive alone currently has somewhere around nine hundred billion web pages and more than sixty petabytes of unique data (a petabyte being one thousand terabytes). Compared to a traditional library or archive, the Internet Archive represents a sheer accumulation of information the likes of which we have never before seen as a society. …

Related to this is the issue of scope. Imagine who is publishing these websites or tweets. Corporations and governments are part of this new record, but, more importantly to me, so are everyday people sharing their thoughts, loves, passions, hatreds, commentary, and beyond.

Your example of Idle No More bears this out. Alongside traditional sources of historical knowledge — from government records, to media, to interviews — researchers in the future will be able to draw on hundreds of thousands of tweets, blogs, activist websites, and camera video footage uploaded to the cloud.

What are the main opportunities of studying history in the digital age, and what are the main challenges?

The opportunities and challenges are two sides of the same coin. Scale and scope, noted above, represent the key opportunities before us. Just imagine: By being able to draw on all of these voices who have been traditionally left out of the archival record — everyday people, activists, people tweeting about their classes or meals, and beyond — we will all benefit from this more democratic source base. …

The challenges are considerable. Most historians don't think about gigabytes of data, let alone terabytes or petabytes. Doing this requires a few things: first, high-performance computing — think servers, cloud computing, code that is optimized to run quickly — and, secondly, the training and skills to effectively use this sort of infrastructure.

What kind of new digital tools are available to historians today? For example, we've digitized all of the past issues of *The Beaver* and *Canada's History* magazine using optical character recognition, so that the text can be searched. How could a historian approach this material differently when using new research methods?

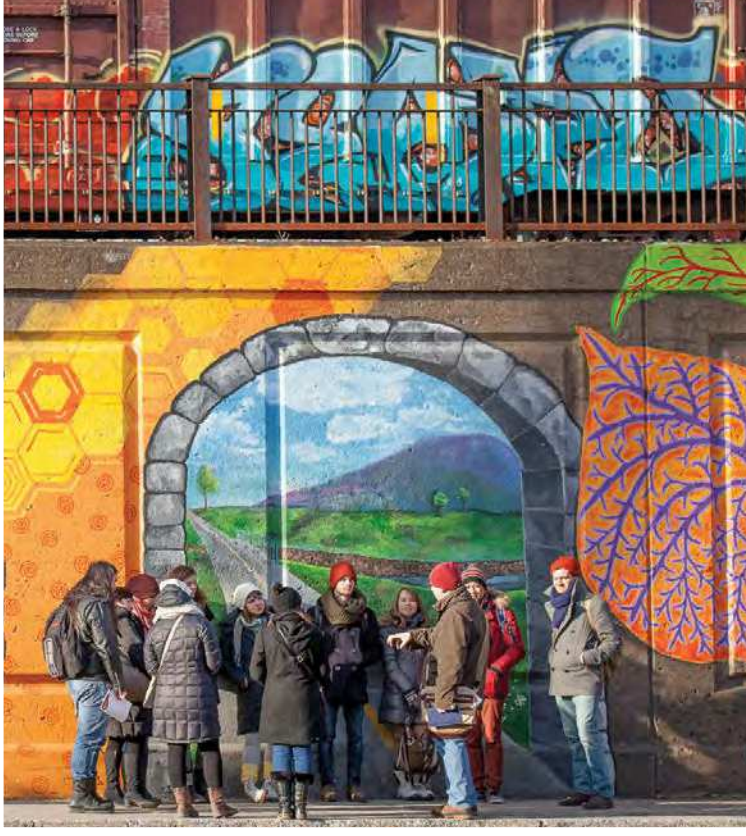
From your flipbook interface, you can imagine doing some pretty good needle-in-a-haystack-type searches. What really excites me, however, is the potential of downloading the PDFs of hundreds of issues.

Scholars could use digital methods to pull out all of the images, for example, and then see how they have changed over the last hundred years; or they could use large-scale text analysis to see how understandings of history have changed here in Canada. When do we see social-historical issues mirrored within the pages of *The Beaver*, or increasingly diverse authors — and so forth. It's really exciting!

The title of the book is *History in the Age of Abundance?* Why does it end with a question mark?

The question mark suggests that we are not in a settled place. My book is an early contribution to this ongoing reshaping of the historical profession, and the conversation isn't over. A book published in 2019 isn't going to be a decisive settling of what history will look like in the age of abundance but, rather, the opening of a conversation.

To read more of the conversation, visit CanadasHistory.ca/ThePastIsDigital.



With their award-winning projects, the recipients of the 2020 Governor General's History Awards explored a wide and diverse range of history topics – from the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, to skateboard art as a means of fostering Indigenous reconciliation, to stories of the lives of new Canadians displaced by violence and oppression.

Honouring Canada's history champions

Governor General's History Awards recipients recognized for their dedication and desire to keep Canadian history alive. *by Brooke Campbell and Mark Reid*

They are the storytellers of history — enthralling and engaging Canadians everywhere as they explore our country's past.

From teachers, authors, and scholars to curators, community volunteers, and more, these history champions bring context and clarity to the past and inspire us all to learn more about Canada and its many peoples.

Canada's History Society is proud to introduce the 2020 recipients of the Governor General's History Awards — an annual recognition of the achievements of individuals and organizations that make our past relevant, empowering, and accessible.

"All across Canada, the laureates work every day to empower students, connect with communities, and tell stories of the past — inspiring and engaging us with their passion for history. I would like to extend my sincere congratulations to all of the 2020 recipients," said Janet Walker, President & CEO of Canada's History Society.

The Governor General's History Awards are administered by Canada's History Society and recognize excellence in five categories: Community Programming, Museums, Popular Media, Scholarly Research, and Teaching.

The awards are Canada's top history honours and involve the leading agencies of Canada's history and heritage community. Each award category is administered by the presenting organization and has its own jury, selection process, and prize structure.

To learn more about the Governor General's History Awards, please visit CanadasHistory.ca/Awards.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA; STEVEN HIGH; GWICH'IN TRIBAL COUNCIL; STEVEN HIGH; ERIC REITER; KRISTIAN BASARABA

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN TEACHING

Kristian Basaraba
Salisbury Composite High School
Sherwood Park, Alberta

Kristian Basaraba combined skateboard art with a history lesson on Indigenous culture and colonialism in an effort to raise awareness about reconciliation. Working with Indigenous educators, artists, and professional skateboarders, Basaraba's students researched Canada's history of colonialism and designed skateboard graphics to showcase their learning. The students also organized a public exhibition at an Edmonton skate shop to showcase their decks and to bring awareness to systemic racism against Indigenous peoples. The dialogue between community stakeholders within these venues and platforms was a testament to the power of skateboarding to be a call to action to forge a path to decolonization.

Francis Lalande
Collège Citoyen
Laval, Quebec

Francis Lalande's project "Histoire à vélo" is a dynamic, eco-responsible, and transdisciplinary project using the bicycle as a means of teaching history. In the first part of the project, the students aspired to become aware and independent citizens by preparing for a bike tour along the Lachine Canal in Montreal. To do so, they had to establish their itineraries using Google Maps to consider the important infrastructures of the canal. In order to interpret the evolution of this historic place, students then compared their observations with historical sources. In the second part of the project, the students continued their adventure and learning by working with a GoPro video produced by their teacher, who travelled by bike in the different neighbourhoods of Montreal.

Dominique Laperle
Pensionnat du Saint-Nom-de-Marie
Montreal

Dominique Laperle's project, "Dollard et Groulx" aimed to allow reflection on the instrumentalization of historical facts for political ends. Based on false news from a newspaper, Laperle's students were asked to reflect on and to interpret editorial-style text on whether or not to conserve a statue of Dollard des Ormeaux in La Fontaine Park in Montreal. Students based their arguments on an analysis of primary sources from the New France era and secondary sources from nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians. The students came to understand how ideologies can shape and skew the choices of societies. They also learned how prejudices can work to harm minority groups — and, in particular, Indigenous peoples — in Canada.

Dawn Martens
Buchanan Park Public School
Hamilton

To commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and to learn about the plight of Jewish children during the Holocaust, Dawn Martens guided her grades four to six students on an interdisciplinary project to study and to present, in a video performance, Hans Krása's opera *Brundibár*. The opera was originally performed by children in Theriesenstadt, a concentration camp and ghetto established in occupied Czechoslovakia during the Second World War. During the project, the students strengthened their understanding of the Holocaust and of the historical context behind the opera. The project saw students confront a challenging moment in history and empowered them to take a leadership role with their own learning.

Nathan Tidridge
Waterdown District High School
Waterdown, Ontario

Since 2014, the Souharissen Natural Area in Waterdown, Ontario, has become a foundation for land-based pedagogy that has engaged students and members of the wider community in projects built around the historical-thinking pillars. Created by Nathan Tidridge, his students, and community members, including the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, this fifty-five-acre educational and cultural space continues to evolve as an outdoor classroom. During this time, students have developed relationships with their Treaty partners, the Mississaugas of the Credit and Haudenosaunee Confederacy. As an innovative approach to land-based learning, the Souharissen Natural Area is unlike any other space in Canada.

Chris Young
Kelvin High School
Winnipeg

Chris Young's grade ten students explored their community's history through a project called "Kelvin Remembers the Winnipeg General Strike." Through primary- and secondary-source research, museum and historical site visits, and seminar discussions, students learned about the connections between their school, their city, and this historic event. By studying the strike through multiple perspectives, the students gained an appreciation for its complexities and its polarizing legacy. On the one hundredth anniversary of the first day of the strike, the students came together to host a special commemorative day at their school. The project empowered students to share their knowledge and to actively engage with commemorative acts.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARD FOR POPULAR MEDIA: THE PIERRE BERTON AWARD

Steven High
Montreal

Steven High is a leading oral and public historian whose research empowers individuals and broadens understanding of Canada's multi-faceted history. As a co-founder of the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia University, High works collaboratively with the communities he studies and is a pioneer in digitizing the life stories he collects. From 2006 to 2012, High led a project to collect the life stories of Montrealers displaced by war, genocide, and other human rights violations. High is committed to broadening our understanding of Canada's history and to disseminating the voices of ordinary people in multiple formats.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARD FOR SCHOLARLY RESEARCH

Eric Reiter
Montreal

Having our feelings hurt is something most people first encounter as very young children. In *Wounded Feelings: Litigating Emotions in Quebec, 1870-1950*, historian Eric Reiter traces that intimate experience — given a more adult shape in forms such as shame, disgrace, bodily intrusion, betrayal, grief, anger, and fear — through Quebec's court system from the late-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Marrying legal history to the history of emotions is innovative in and of itself: This is the first legal history of emotions in Canada. A beautifully written, thoughtful, and mature work, *Wounded Feelings* will have a powerful influence on future studies of society, culture, and jurisprudence.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN MUSEUMS: HISTORY ALIVE!

The Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project
Saskatoon

This project by the Western Development Museum, Spirit Wrestler Productions, and the University of Saskatchewan documented the history, culture, and religious beliefs of Saskatchewan's Independent Doukhobors. The exhibit featured textual material, audio, and visual elements and included a documentary, a museum exhibit, and a website. The project offered the public an opportunity to learn about a distinctive ethno-religious community that played a key role in Saskatchewan's history. It was designed in collaboration with the Doukhobor community and represents an effective partnership between the museum, the people it represents, and the people it serves.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING

Gwich'in Goonanh'kak Googwandak: The Places and Stories of the Gwich'in
Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories

For over twenty years, the Gwich'in Tribal Council Department of Cultural Heritage has worked with Gwich'in Elders and traditional land users to document place names and to create an inventory of heritage sites in the Gwich'in Settlement Region of the Northwest Territories and YukonTerritory. The innovative project, "Gwich'in Goonanh'kak Googwandak: The Places and Stories of the Gwich'in," saw the creation of an online atlas and the official recognition of Gwich'in place names. The project grew out of a wish by Gwich'in Elders to protect, share, and celebrate Gwich'in place names.

Centenaire de la radiodiffusion au Canada
Montreal

The Musée des Ondes Emile Berliner in Montreal collaborated with several organizations to explore the one hundredth anniversary of radio broadcasting in Canada. The twentieth century was marked by the arrival of several major technological innovations, among them the radio. The centennial program, titled, "Centenaire de la radiodiffusion au Canada," was a year-long engaging showcase of the development of radio technology and content in Canada. It included conferences, temporary exhibits, radio broadcasts, and an online exploration of radio history. It also explored the social, economic, and technological dimensions of the anniversary.

To watch video interviews with the 2020 Governor General's History Awards recipients, please visit:

CanadasHistory.ca/Awards

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARDS

All across Canada, in schools and universities, museums, archives, community groups and more, history champions are working with passion and commitment to bring to life the stories of our country. By exploring and engaging with the past in innovative and exciting ways, these history makers inspire us all to learn more about each other — and about ourselves. Thanks to them, the past has a bright future in Canada.

Congratulations to all recipients and their communities from:

POWER CORPORATION OF CANADA

Canada

CANADA'S HISTORY

Travelling performer

My grandmother Vera Stidolph (née Secord) lived with our family until her death in 1967, when I was eighteen. She was not one to talk often about herself, but I grew up captivated by the few stories she told about Laura Secord and Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, as well as life on the stage.

My great-grandfather Douglas Secord was a great-nephew of James and Laura Secord — the famous Laura Secord! But he was also an actor and an impresario, and his wife, Adelaide — shown in this portrait — became a leading lady who performed under her maiden name, Flint. My grandmother joined them as a child actor and performed on the stage until silent movies turned to talkies in the mid-1920s.

By the 1890s, there were many travelling stock companies made up of Canadian actors. But they didn't perform in the big cities or big theatres like the Walker in Winnipeg, Royal Alex in Toronto, or Pantages in Vancouver. They played in town halls, churches, and even barns, putting on shows such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Ten Nights in a Bar-room*, and *Hearts of Gold*.

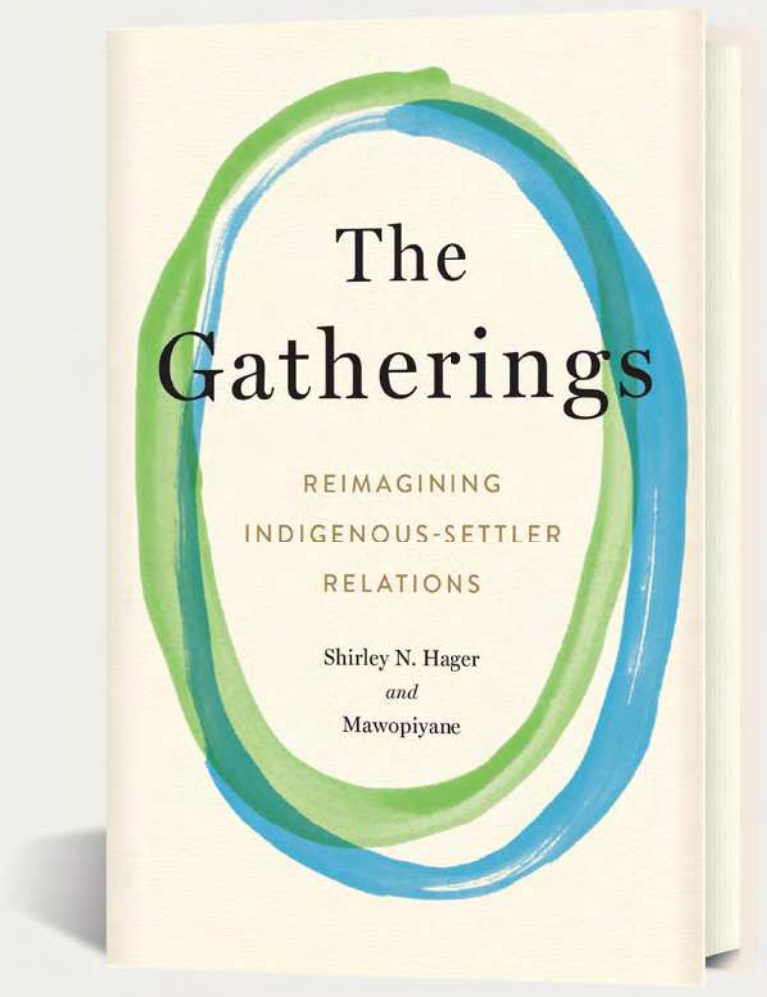
My grandmother's diary from 1919 details an extraordinary tour they undertook performing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It started in New Hamburg, Ontario, on January 24 and closed in Elmvale, Ontario, on December 6. They performed an astounding 272 one-night stands, travelling through southern and northern Ontario, northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and then back to Ontario.

The shows travelled almost exclusively by train along the main lines and tiny spur lines from coast to coast, rarely staying more than one night in any town. Accommodations were often challenging. In a 1963 CBC Radio interview, my grandmother gave this example: "I was in one hotel, and it was sixteen degrees below zero, and the only heat they had was in the kitchen. This was in Iroquois, Ontario. So I went to bed with my fur coat on, my boots, and tied a scarf around my head."

Very little has been recorded about this period of our cultural history. The many small stock companies travelled largely in obscurity, performing mostly in communities of a few hundred people with no newspapers. The performers of this generation are now gone, but their stories remain in old scrapbooks, and a few are remembered by grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Submitted by Alan Clark of Linden, Ontario, the great-grandson of Adelaide Secord.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.



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Thirty years ago, in Wabanaki territory, a group of Native and non-Native individuals came together to explore some of the most pressing questions at the heart of Truth and Healing efforts in the United States and Canada. *The Gatherings* tells the moving story of these meetings in the words of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. Reuniting to reflect on how their lives were changed by their experiences and how they continue to be impacted by them, the participants share the valuable lessons they learned.

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HOLLY WILKINSON
Executive Director, WholeHeart, Inc.

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